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**THE MARGINALISATION OF RACISM: A STUDY OF A LOCAL  
EDUCATION AUTHORITY PROJECT ON MULTICULTURAL  
EDUCATION**

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**SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION**

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## **DEDICATION**

For Lindsey for her knowledge, beauty and love. Mam and Dad for always being there when I needed them. And for Lobo for his companionship.

## ABSTRACT

The study originated from an independent evaluation of a Local Education Authority (LEA) project on multicultural education undertaken by a team of four teachers in two schools; a predominantly white, co-educational rural grammar school and a multi-racial, co-educational urban secondary modern. The thesis examines some key aspects of the conceptualisation, establishment, management and operationalisation of the project. The concepts of multicultural and antiracist education and the related research literature on their initiation in schools are considered. The procedures for the recruitment and selection of the project team are also examined along with the selection of the project schools, their organisation and ethos. The study focuses on the work of the team and their attempt to facilitate and initiate change at departmental and whole-school levels. The difficulty of the team's task and the complexity of racism are highlighted through a senior teacher's life history which examines his perspectives on 'race' and education.

The research findings question the adoption of low-key multicultural approaches suggesting that they might marginalise the ability to address the issue of racism in schools and thus be counter-productive. Variables are also identified, in particular the occupational culture of teachers, which might have restricted the team's access to departments, the facilitation of collaborative teaching strategies and the implementation of whole-school policy. It is suggested that a team approach needs to be planned, executed and continually re-evaluated according to clear goals and shared objectives. It is also suggested that it might be advantageous for a team to possess subject-specific expertise and an ability to relate it to racism in the departmental curriculum. Moreover, throughout the process of change the issue of racism needs to remain explicit and, whenever possible, involve the black community in the decision-making process.



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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **The Focus of the Study**

The Open University (OU) was approached in 1987 by representatives of a Local Education Authority (LEA), requesting an independent evaluation of a two year multicultural educational initiative arising from the publication of the Swann Report (DES,1985). The initiative is referred to throughout this study as the Swann Project. The project was located in two schools: one a multi-ethnic, co-educational, inner-city Secondary School and the other a predominantly white, co-educational, rural Grammar School. The project, which commenced in January 1988, was undertaken by a curriculum development team of four teachers and I was appointed as a Research Assistant to conduct the independent evaluation. Subsequently, while employed as a full-time member of the OU, I took the opportunity to register for a Ph.D., the focus of which was the LEA Swann Project. Correspondingly, the research theory and methods used during the evaluation of the project and the findings which emanated from them constitute the foundations upon which the study is based.

As I will reveal in this chapter, in terms of related studies (Brandt,1986; Troyna,1988; Foster,1988; Grugeon and

Woods,1990) the evaluation of the Swann Project afforded an opportunity to address an under-researched area: an ethnographic study (see chapter two) of an LEA project's inception and a project team's facilitation and initiation of multicultural education in two schools over a period of two years.

The study includes a detailed examination of the perspectives of team members, teachers, LEA officials and representatives of the CRCs involved in the project. In terms of an empirically-grounded (Troyna and Carrington,1989) evaluation of a multicultural educational innovation, I had "the priceless advantage of access to a secret and largely secretive world of significant social action" (Kushner and MacDonald,1987,p.167).

In presenting the study, I have paid particular attention to situating the project, the facilitation and the initiation of multicultural change in a socio-political context. The background and development of the project have been included in the research not only to provide more qualitative detail but because the context and the inception of the project were considered to be integral parts of the process of change. For this reason, in chapters three, four and five I examine the social and political context of the initiative and detail the

chronology of events leading up to the project team's entry into the schools. The analysis includes the LEA's early management decisions on the creation, staffing and location of the Swann Project. Subsequently, it is the evaluation of these decisions in relation to the team's ability to facilitate and initiate departmental and whole-school change which is discussed in chapters six and seven.

In chapter eight I focus on the beliefs and attitudes of a senior teacher from one of the project schools and examine his perspectives on 'race' and education through the use of the life history method (Woods, 1987). I assess the appropriateness of the method as a means of examining the complex nature of racism and developing strategies for educational change. Finally, in chapter nine I present the conclusion of the study and identify possible areas for further research.

Woods (1990) in considering the empirically-grounded nature of the ethnographic method states that

"theoretically-guided research may be used to test an existing theory, or to modify or elaborate upon it" (p.55).

In order to consider the two main prescriptions for addressing the issue of racism and education, namely multiculturalism and antiracism, and the related research on their facilitation and initiation, the introduction has been divided into two parts. In part one the study provides

a conceptual analysis of multicultural education and antiracist education and in part two the study examines the research literature on their practical enactment.

## **PART ONE: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF MULTICULTURAL AND ANTIRACIST EDUCATION**

In attempting to examine the conceptual development of multicultural and antiracist education and in the light of the plethora of secondary source material, I will provide a brief and inevitably selective presentation of these concepts. Although for the purposes of clarification I will refer to multicultural education (MCE) and antiracist education (ARE) separately, it is not intended to suggest that there is any simple demarcation between them. As the section goes on to reveal, within the concepts of MCE and ARE their proponents might have internal differences in belief and practice, however the distinction between the two concepts might not be easily discernible (Rattansi,1988).

### **Multicultural Education**

In general terms proponents of MCE (Jeffcoate,1984; Craft,1984) advocate the need for the school curriculum and practices to acknowledge and reflect the cultures of ethnic minority students. This, its proponents argue, would promote equality of opportunity, assist ethnic minority

students in developing their own sense of identity and increase their motivation to achieve. Moreover, as racism is primarily defined in terms of individual attitudes as prejudice, it is believed that a multicultural curriculum might encourage white students to develop an awareness and tolerance of minorities, thus reducing racial prejudice and enhancing harmonious community relations (Jeffcoate,1984).

At a theoretical level the perspective underlining the multiculturalist position is cultural pluralism. This is a perspective encapsulated in the Swann Report (DES,1985)

"Education For All" which stated:

We consider that a multi-racial society such as ours would in fact function most effectively and harmoniously on the basis of pluralism which enables, expects and encourages members of all ethnic groups, both minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures, whilst also allowing, and where necessary, assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within this common framework. (Swann Report,1985,p.5)

Society is viewed as structured in terms of culturally distinctive groups and there is a positive commitment towards this plurality. Cultural groups are able to retain their own modes of behaviour and values, and recognition is given to the benefits accruing to society as a whole through groups sharing these differences. Through this process of interaction, it is believed that individuals and groups will become more tolerant towards each other

(Parekh,1986). The development of a pluralist society occurs without the need to restructure totally the economic, social and political fabric of society (Gaine,1987). Indeed, the Swann Report (DES,1985) made this position explicit and stated; "We are not..seeking a radically different social structure" (p.7). The next section in providing a critique of MCE examines the perspective in greater detail.

### **The Critique of Multiculturalism in Education**

A criticism of MCE, according to proponents of ARE, is its association with the notion of social control which is presented as the rationale underlying the development of multicultural policy (Troyna and Williams,1986; Arnot,1987). Although in chapter three I will consider further the issue of social control and LEA policy development, the social control hypothesis needs to be considered as a critique of MCE in conceptual terms. The social control thesis has particular support amongst black academics and writers, such as Mullard (1980), Dhondy (1982), Carby (1982) and Sivanandan (1984), who subscribe to an antiracist position. Rattansi (1989) considers it to be one of the most damaging criticisms levied at MCE:

..it is fundamentally a mechanism and strategy for control and containment, a set of tokenist reforms to defuse and deflect protest, resistance and rebellion by black parents and students rather than a set of policies designed to seriously challenge the subordination of black minorities within the education system. (Rattansi,1989,p.37)

In support of this critique, it is noted that whereas before 1981 only two LEAs, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) and Manchester, had published policy statements on multicultural education (Troyna and Ball, 1983), following the urban rebellions of 1981, a significant growth in LEA multicultural policy pronouncements occurred (Troyna and Williams, 1986). Furthermore, public pronouncements after 1981 recognised that education would have a role to play in avoiding further social conflict and preventing increased disaffection amongst black youths (Rattansi, 1989). For example, Troyna and Williams (1986) cite the 1981 findings of the parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration which warns schools:

..a failure to act, now the facts are generally known, will cause widespread disappointment and ultimately unrest among the ethnic minority groups in our society. (1981, p.106 quoted in Troyna and Williams, 1986, p.69)

However, while Rattansi (1989) remains sympathetic to the possibility that social control may be a factor in MCE policy development, he believes that its creation may also have been determined by numerous other factors. For example, LEA officers may have been motivated by a genuine desire to instigate ameliorative policy and black groups may have supported the development of multicultural initiatives.



In a further argument against the social control thesis, Rattansi (1989) cites the work of Green (1982) who stipulates that there is too great a disparity between intentions and outcomes to be able to justify the claim that MCE fulfils a social control function. He contends that neither educational administrators nor teachers believe that disaffection by black youth will be controlled by changes to the school curriculum, and that by placing MCE on the school agenda it is equally as likely to facilitate opposition as coalescence. For example, the MCE policy resolutions endorsed since 1981 clearly failed to prevent similar rebellions occurring in 1985. However, the validity of the social control thesis may not simply reside with the debate over whether the rationale underlying the introduction of MCE was the suppression of resistance by black youth towards education and society.

The location of MCE within a cultural pluralist framework, which perceives change occurring within the existing social structure, means that for antiracists (Hatcher, 1987; Sarup, 1987) who advocate the social transformation of society as a prerequisite of the deconstruction of racism MCE may, at a level of theoretical abstraction, be implicitly fulfilling a function of social control.

However, in terms of the general validity of the social control hypothesis, it remains not always possible, as Higgins (1979) states:

...to give unequivocal answers to the question of who is being controlled, by whom, in what ways and for what purpose. Quite often social control theories are developed at a high degree of abstraction and argue in terms of reified constructs such as the state and the system. Similarly, the objects of control are ill-defined groups such as militant blacks or working class. Motives, intentions and purposes are often assumed from the effects of action, rather than elicited from careful research. (Higgins, 1979, p.20)

Consequently, until research theories and methods can be refined and developed so that theories of social control may be tested against empirical data, the social control critique of MCE, although potentially damaging, must remain speculative.

In a further critique of MCE, antiracists are opposed to the proposition of MCE which links the poor educational performance of black children to their low self-esteem, arising from negative black stereotypes presented in a predominantly white society (Milner, 1973). The solution, therefore, was believed to involve white children in an appreciation of black culture and black children in developing a sense of identity. In contrast to these findings, black researchers (Stone, 1981; Sarup, 1986) have contended that black children do not necessarily have a negative self-image.

In supporting their case, Williams (1989) argues:

..in finding a psychological reason for black underachievement the cause of the problem is deflected from questions of social and economic power in the wider society which schools themselves reflect, and, in addition, it locates the solution within the psyche of the Black child - another way of blaming the victim. (Williams,1989,p.93)

Similarly, Troyna (1990) argues that to provide black students with increased knowledge of their ethnic and cultural origins was to mistakenly equate "life styles with life chances" (p.404). In its almost exclusive focus upon culture, MCE fails to acknowledge racism outside the school, for example, in discrimination of access to employment and housing. Moreover, it ignores the historical and present day differential power relationship between white and black people which results in black people having unequal access to the resources and power necessary to effect change.

In focusing upon racism as negative individual prejudice, MCE ignores, and therefore implicitly denies, the possible existence of institutional forms of racism operating within both the education system and society. Troyna (1987) further contends that the notion of challenging negative white attitudes through the promotion of cultural diversity is equally spurious.

He cites the research of Conner (1972) who states:

Minimally, it may be asserted that increasing awareness of a second group is not certain to promote harmony and is at least as likely to produce on balance a negative response. (Conner, 1972, quoted in Troyna, 1987, pp. 313-314)

A related argument expounded by antiracist critics is that whatever the benefits accruing to white students by learning about other cultures, such instruction fails to inform them of the racism within their own culture and history (Sivanandan, 1982). Furthermore, as 98% of all teachers are white, a multicultural curriculum may in effect reproduce a white view of black culture, and any promotion of cultural diversity may simply result in a tokenistic presentation which reinforces rather than reduces stereotypes (Williams, 1989). For example, Rattansi (1989) contends that because cultures are intrinsically complex and comparatively diverse, proponents of MCE face problems in the selection of traits that are representative of any one culture.

Consequently, a multicultural curriculum might result in a superficial presentation which fails to take account of the political, economic and religious differences between and within societies. Indeed, as 'culture' is often regarded as synonymous with religion, rather than permeate the whole curriculum, MCE frequently only finds expression in religious studies lessons.

Rattansi concludes:

The absence of serious thinking on the issue has often resulted in...a process of trivialisation..in a tokenist manner which gives no real insight.  
(Rattansi,1989,p.36)

Carrington and Short (1989), while recognising that increased awareness of different cultures does not necessarily produce tolerance, may be tokenistic and indeed perpetuate racist stereotypes, they still maintain that a commitment to informing students about cultural differences is crucial. They believe that without such instruction existing misconceptions will go unchallenged. Consequently, rather than reject MCE, what might be needed is the development of strategies and materials which are sensitive to the problems of selectivity and bias. In this respect a degree of synthesis might be achieved between MCE and ARE.

### **Multicultural and Antiracist Convergence**

Leicester (1987) argues that antiracists, like Mullard (1984), in associating ARE with structure and MCE with content, were initiating a false dichotomy. She distinguishes between racist and antiracist forms of MCE and contends that there are different and equally valid principles of thought and value judgements which are relative to particular cultures. She argues that antiracist MCE acknowledges this relativism, whereas racist forms of multicultural education tend to view cultures in absolute terms and judge alternative cultures from a perspective

external to them, based on their own mono-cultural perspective. Subsequently, she views antiracism and multiculturalism not as separate but fused constructs. She reaffirms this position with reference to Grinter (1985) who shares a similar perspective and states:

Effective anti-racist multicultural education is more a matter of approach, emphasis and choice of examples, analogies and implications in the teaching of traditional curriculum content, a question of sensitivity to issues and perspectives that might be omitted. The processes of learning are crucially important, and should lead students to consider as a matter of course, what biases and assumptions are reflected in the treatment of a topic, in terms of the questions that are asked, the range of perspectives brought to bear, the conclusions drawn and the questions that remain. (Grinter, 1985, quoted in Leicester, 1986, p.4)

Although some advocates of MCE (Jeffcoate, 1984; Craft, 1984) and ARE (Hatcher, 1987; Mullard, 1984) continue to distance themselves emphatically from any fusion, the conceptual debate appears to be moving towards a shared perspective on practice which remains ostensibly within the theoretical framework of cultural pluralism (Leicester, 1986). Cohen (1987), for example, has labelled the dichotomous debate between antiracists and multiculturalist as "sterile and self-destructive" and believes that the protagonists may be better served by finding "ways of combining the positive elements in both approaches while avoiding their negative features" (p.4).

In this respect certain proponents of MCE have reconsidered the efficacy of simply promoting cultural diversity in the curriculum as the only means of tackling racism. They support whole-school change in institutional practices and procedures, and the introduction of less didactic modes of learning (Lynch,1986; Banks,1986). Similarly, some who label themselves as antiracists believe in the feasibility of eliminating racism while supporting the existing social system (Green,1982; Gaine,1987; Foster,1988).

The convergence of MCE and ARE within a cultural pluralist perception of the state has led antiracists who have rejected the subsumed position to label the era as that of the "new multiculturalism" (Hatcher,1987). In supporting this fusion, Gaine (1987) rather than refer to the "new multiculturalist" perspective prefers to differentiate between what he considers to be "weak" and "strong" antiracist perspectives. According to Gaine(1987) the "weak" antiracist position is synonymous with the notion of Education for Racial Equality (ERE) whose proponents recognise the educational value in celebrating cultural diversity, whilst acknowledging its limitations as a strategy for countering racism. They believe that the issue needs to be redefined in terms of white attitudes and practices, thereby increasing its relevance to all schools not just those in multi-ethnic areas.

As Gaine (1987) states:

ERE would claim to want to give pupils a critical understanding of racism rather than hope for "harmony" through goodwill, and it seeks to rethink structures and practices which diminish life chances for black people. In practice this means for instance, positive action on black recruitment, monitoring job appointments and being prepared to act upon the results and having enforceable sanctions for racist elements at any level.  
(Gaine,1987.pp.34-35)

In practical terms, the movement away from concern with a strictly multicultural agenda, such as the teaching of English as a second Language, multi-faiths in religious studies and Asian food in Domestic Science, is a direction in which antiracists in general would approve. Equally, the "new multiculturalists" in prescribing practical alternatives may share with antiracists a recognition of the importance of implementing whole-school policies which, for example, safeguard against racist abuse and support the recruitment and promotion of more black teachers (Brandt,1986; Bhavnani,1986). Gaine (1987) recognises that in their commitment to dismantling racist practices and institutional structures, and the engendering of a critical awareness in pupils, a degree of consensus exists between the "new multiculturalist" ERE position and that of the more radical antiracists.

However, a major divergence in perspective exists in the underlying assumptions upon which these strategies are postulated. Proponents of the "new multiculturalist" or ERE



position contend that racism can be viewed and isolated as an ideology and a set of practices which can be analysed and countered "to the benefit of British society as we know it" (Gaine,1987,p.33).

For antiracists, such as Hatcher (1987), this is viewed unacceptably as "a concept of equality which accepts the existing hierarchical structure of society" (p.38). Hatcher (1987) shares the reservations of other antiracists namely that equality cannot be achieved within the present state education system (Mullard,1984; Brandt,1986). They refute the notion that with the right combination of antiracist and multicultural approaches individual racism and institutional discrimination can be dismantled, leaving the basic structures and relations of the British economy and society essentially unchanged. Proponents contend that racism needs to be understood in historical and socio-economic context and that such consideration raises questions around fundamental issues of justice, equality and political and economic power (Gilroy,1987). Consequently, the fight against racism cannot simply be located within the arena of education or succeed within the present system but needs to be linked to other forms of oppression, such as gender and class, and viewed as part of the wider struggle for the socio-economic, political and ideological transformation of society (Sarup,1986).

The concepts of racism and antiracism are further developed in chapter two when the research perspective informing the study is discussed. As yet, however, the analysis of how forms of 'race', class and gender oppression inter-relate ideologically and the practical implications stemming from their relationship remains undeveloped (Rattansi,1989). The primary dilemma faced by advocates of ARE is how far racism can be dismantled within the existing social structure and how far it is dependent upon a socio-economic and political transformation of British society. In contrast, and partly in response to this difficulty, the evolving "new multiculturalist" perspective has grounded itself pragmatically on servicing the needs of those who have to innovate at the institutional level of the school. As Green (1982) recognises:

Teaching against racism whilst agents of an institutional system that in many ways perpetuates it, sympathising with the resentment of black kids whilst simultaneously called upon to contain their rebellion, paid to school and desiring to educate; the contradictions are endless. Purists can denounce them; they will remain uncontaminated and ineffective. Teachers and activists have to work with them and through them. Contradiction is the essence of social change, and the occupational hazard of political action. They may change something.  
(Green,1982,p.35)

A related assertion of the "new multiculturalist" position is that the process of tackling racism within schools, particularly all-white schools, may necessitate the adoption of strategies which prevents teachers from

becoming as Lynch (1989) claims "hostages to fortune" (p.38). The political and professional realities of teaching may mean that "less threatening" multiculturalist approaches may be initially developed and supported in order subsequently to engender amongst staff a commitment to antiracism. As Leicester (1986) states:

For many teachers multicultural education is the path to an antiracist commitment. To reject the development of a multicultural curriculum will alienate potential allies and negate the genuine efforts of many teachers who believe in the antiracist cause. (Leicester, 1986, p.6)

Gaine (1987) similarly defends the "new multiculturalist" (for him ERE) position on the grounds of pragmatism. He cites the example of Berkshire LEA and how a more extreme wording of its antiracist policy may not have been passed by the politically sensitive education committee. He applies a similar defence for teachers working against racism within schools and argues that, with few exceptions, the majority would consider it "unwise to be identified as too extreme" (p.37).

However, the pragmatic expediency which underpins aspects of the "new multiculturalist" perspective may be particularly problematic in school situations which are hostile to tackling the issue of racism. For example, teachers may find themselves colluding with the position of Kirp (1979) who in his book "Doing Good by Doing Little" considers that the strategy of "doing good by stealth"

implicit in the context of policies on "race" was in fact commendable. He argued that the approach pre-empted the possibility of a white back-lash. However, Troyna (1987) has warned how such an inexplicit approach precludes direct engagement with the racism experienced by black students, that it fails to tackle institutional racism and helps to legitimate an "educational system which contributes to their continued oppression and enforced inequality" (p.309). In effect, it becomes a strategy in marginalisation.

In addition, as no evidence exists to show that the promotion of multiculturalism eventually leads to an acceptance of antiracism, as a strategy it may be spurious. Therefore, rather than reject antiracism, it may be a case of improving the strategies associated with its presentation and implementation. For example, Troyna (1986) while remaining firmly committed to ARE has highlighted a failure by its proponents to consider the development of strategies within the context of all-white schools.

Similarly, Carrington and Short (1989) recognise that the resistance to ARE may be due in part to the failure of its protagonists to provide unambiguous and workable strategies for its implementation. They suggest that antiracist education has failed to consider in depth how the principle of permeation of antiracism into each curriculum area, as

well as the whole school and the community is to be enacted. Furthermore, the way antiracism has been packaged may pay insufficient attention to the psychological processes associated with teacher attitude formation and change. Consequently, while many LEAs and schools have formulated policies on "race" and education, the "new multiculturalist" perspective is considerably more prominent than what is perceived as the more politically contentious antiracist position (Carrington and Short, 1989).

Grugeon and Woods (1990) have made the point that while the antiracist critique of multiculturalism has resulted in a greater commitment towards countering racism, multicultural criticism levied at antiracism may facilitate a deeper consideration amongst its proponents of ways in which antiracist theory can be enacted. Rattansi (1989) has noted that supporters of MCE may have failed to produce any research evidence to indicate that learning about other cultures reduces prejudice:

Most accounts of the nature and effects of antiracist practice remain at the anecdotal level and there has been little research yet into the possible long term impact of antiracist teaching and whole-school change. (Rattansi, 1989, p.40)

In the context of this observation part two considers the research on multicultural and antiracist innovation in schools.

## **PART TWO: A REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH ON MULTICULTURAL AND ANTIRACIST EDUCATION**

In part two I attempt to ground the study in the context of research which has empirically examined multicultural and antiracist education. I believe that an appraisal of the literature I have selected to review will raise, and enable me to cross-reference, comparative issues in subsequent chapters. For example, consideration is given to the Swann Report (DES,1985) which acted as a catalyst for the project's inception (see chapter three) and the Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) study of LEA projects which were similarly inspired. The review commences with an examination of school-based studies on multicultural and antiracist education.

### **The Study of Brandt (1986)**

Brandt's work "The Realisation of Anti-Racist Teaching" (1986) includes a small number of examples of what he considers to be good antiracist practice drawn from primary and secondary schools. He details the curriculum content and pedagogy employed, and attempts to locate them in the context of the school and school policy. He argues that in order for staff to undertake curriculum development, it is necessary for them to engage with the "history, structure and culture of racism" (p.189).

Brandt highlights the diversity of approach between teachers and identifies the need for more antiracist resources and material to be readily available, recommending the development of in-service training to provide teachers with the opportunity to develop and sharpen their perspectives and practice. Finally, he argues that any change in teaching practice must be viewed in the wider context of a change at the level of the school, the LEA and the state; he recommends community action which includes campaigning by committed teachers alongside the black community.

The accounts offered by Brandt remain isolated lessons and it is difficult to determine how representative they are of the particular teachers or of the wider practice within the school (Foster,1988). Furthermore, Brandt offers no insight into the process of change leading up to the implementation of the antiracist practices. Consequently, important questions concerning the way in which they were introduced into the school and how teachers became committed to antiracist practice are omitted.

In addition, although he claims his examples are drawn from the practices of "ordinary teachers" in "ordinary schools" (p.189), they are all taken from multi-ethnic schools. As the majority of people neither live in inner city areas nor are in contact with black people (Taylor,1984), the

research offers limited assistance into realising antiracist practice in all-white schools (Troyna,1987). However, Brandt does recognise the need for more "extensive research" (p.190) into ways in which the existing curricular and classroom processes are perpetuating racism and how these in turn relate to the enactment of antiracist practice. As Cohen (1987) similarly notes:

..it is at the level of teaching methods that both antiracist and multicultural education are at their weakest; there is, for example, no detailed ethnographic study of the process of such work. (Cohen,1987,p.4)

#### **The Ethnographic Study of Grugeon and Woods (1990)**

In responding to the need for more qualitative research, Grugeon and Woods (1990) focus on two LEAs and identify hitherto unrecorded antiracist and multicultural initiatives. They document and evaluate a number of approaches, considering their effects on pupil learning and development in primary schools. These include whole-school projects in mathematics, environmental studies and a school exchange. In addition, the experiences of pupils at key stages, such as beginning school, being "statemented" and the transition between schools, are also considered.

The successful projects investigated were found to be located in schools in which the Head Teacher possessed both strong leadership qualities and a commitment towards participatory democracy in terms of policy formulation and



decision-making structures. Teachers were, therefore, able to initiate, develop and refine teaching strategies in a supportive school environment. The most successful were those in which teachers promoted a non-competitive, collaborative and co-operative pedagogy in which pupils learned from each other not only about a particular subject, but a subject in the context of their life experiences. Subsequently, the pupils were able to develop their knowledge, skills and abilities through their "own scheme of relevancies" (p.211). (See also Brandt,1986; Lee and Lee,1987; Lynch,1987; Carrington and Short,1989.)

In the Grugeon and Woods' study, the principle of co-operation and collaboration was extended to include contact with other schools to facilitate a common policy response and to aid the transition of pupils, particularly ethnic minority pupils, between primary and secondary schools. Similarly, the research supported increased parental participation in the affairs of the school and the educational processes experienced by their pupils. Specifically, it was argued that this heightened the bond between pupil, parent and school (see also Mac an Ghail, 1988) and strengthened the development of multicultural and antiracist whole-school policies (see also MacDonald,1988). In respect of in-service training, the research favoured a model in which school-based initiatives interacted with the support of LEA officers and programmes.

The professional approach adopted by teachers in the study tended to be one which was mutually supportive, self-critical, innovative and showed a willingness to monitor and evaluate their practice (see also Hoyle,1980). In effect what was identified as good multicultural and antiracist practice could equally be labelled as good educational practice (Grugeon and Woods,1990). Grugeon and Woods conclude:

Perhaps then the educational gains made through the practices and projects reported here might basically be attributed not so much to what the teachers did, as to what they were - committed, critical, creative and curious. (Grugeon and Woods,1990,p.214)

Significantly, it was discovered that the teachers studied shared a particular approach to teaching and the process of education, had a commitment to addressing the issue of racism and were situated in a favourable school environment.

Although Grugeon and Woods do not attempt to specify how representative they believe such environments and teachers are, they do acknowledge that "not all are similarly disposed" (p.220). Consequently, what the research is unable to address directly are questions concerning the process of change relating to the initial introduction of multicultural and antiracist initiatives. This is true particularly in a school environment which may be hostile to such innovation and which consists of staff with

differing views on education, pedagogical approaches and teaching about 'race'. The Grugeon and Woods study focuses on initiatives undertaken in a variety of schools that they identified as committed. The research approach does not therefore offer an in-depth portrayal of the process of change as it occurred in one school over a period of time.

In terms of a descriptive portrayal of multicultural and antiracist initiatives in one secondary school, the Centre for Research of Ethnic and Race Relations (CRER) project on 'Education and Ethnicity' (1981) based at Warwick University, decided as part of its second stage programme to consider the process of change at the 'chalk face' in more detail. A decision was taken which held that the best way to undertake such work would be through a number of ethnographic studies where researchers were able to observe the process from the inside. Foster (1988) undertook the first of these ethnographic investigations within a multi-ethnic comprehensive school located in the inner city of 'Milltown'.

#### **The Case Study of Foster (1988)**

The research provides the most substantial attempt to date to describe the introduction of multicultural and antiracist principles into a secondary school and to evaluate its effectiveness. While Foster does not claim that the school was representative, he does believe that it

offered something of a "critical case" (Hammersley and Atkinson,1985). For example, the school had an established track record on multicultural and antiracist education, having been commended for its work by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) and was considered locally to be a "pioneer" in the field, having issued a statement against institutional racism in the early 1980s. Consequently, Foster (1988) believes that the school, "Milltown High", provided an ideal opportunity to evaluate the process of multicultural and antiracist innovation. He states:

If we do not find policy implemented here, where staff professed a commitment and claim to be putting it into practice, we would be unlikely to find it implemented elsewhere. (Foster,1988,p.6)

In order to evaluate the process of change, Foster (1988) primarily examines the degree to which the school responds to the curriculum and language needs of ethnic minority pupils, the employment of ethnic minority staff, and the partnership developed between the school and ethnic minority parents. Whilst the development of "anti-racist" education is considered in terms of a social and political education programme and the introduction of a more democratic and collaboratively-based pedagogy, the overriding focus is upon the school's response to its "racial and ethnic minority groups" (p.8).

In line with the findings of Troyna and Ball (1983,1985), Foster discovered little correlation in the relationship between the LEA's policy statement and the enactment of school-based initiatives. He concludes that the LEA policy statement offered insufficient guidance or advice to teachers wishing to follow up on the principles of ARE. He discovered a similar lack of support to emanate from LEA officers or local HMIs. Furthermore, the inexplicit nature of the LEA's position, he believed, may help to explain why some teachers were hostile to ARE, in that they saw it as implying unjustified criticism of their attitudes and professional practices. He subsequently contended that in future teachers would need more advice, information and guidance from LEA policy and officials about the nature of the undertaking and the implications they may have for teaching practice. He believed that an in-service programme facilitated by LEA and academic staff could be used to support that process.

In terms of "Second Stage Language Instruction", Foster found assistance to be infrequent and ill-defined. Teachers recognised that a need existed but found it difficult to relate to practice. In particular there was a problem in identifying pupils' individual needs and ways in which to develop a consistent response amongst teachers. Whilst recognising the professional demands made on teachers, he concludes that these issues required further consideration.

The inclusion of the history and culture of ethnic minority pupils into the curriculum was found to have made "considerable progress". However, these changes tended to be limited to those departments, for example, English and Humanities, which already had an implicit cultural and historical brief. Moreover, as there was little consultation with black pupils or black parents, it tended to be an ethnocentric white interpretation of black history and culture (see also Verma, 1989). This position was one which in future he believes should be rectified by a positive effort to involve ethnic minority parents in the school. However, Foster did not discover any material which he considers to denigrate ethnic minority pupils and he believes it to be an achievement that teachers attempted to include curriculum material which included ethnic minority characters.

Similarly, the introduction of social and political education and the introduction of a more democratic pedagogy with increased student participation was found to be limited to particular lessons and teachers in the English and Integrated Curriculum Departments. In addition, teachers, rather than consider the issue of racism, explicitly preferred to concentrate on discussing personal prejudice in terms of individual attitudes and values, such as tolerance and respect. Foster attributes this restrictive development as owing to the fact that the

school had no policy on social and political education and that the Social Education Department was found to be one of the least developed departments in the school.

Further, he argues that addressing these issues was made more difficult by the resistance or poor behaviour of pupils. Consequently, teachers, rather than develop a more collaborative pedagogy, tended to utilise didactic strategies which they believed maintained classroom control. Indeed, by the end of the study the relationship between teachers and pupils was still marked by clearly defined structures of status and power.

Foster believes that equal opportunities of access to resources for ethnic minority students was operating in the school and found little evidence of either overt or covert forms of racial discrimination. Nevertheless, he does add that in some situations teachers were relying on subjective criteria which may have resulted in Afro-Caribbean pupils being allocated more frequently to low status groups than their actual ability might justify. However, despite this reservation, he concludes that overt racism had been eliminated in the school and from his interviews with staff and pupils he found no evidence of teachers holding stereotypical views about the way they treated students.

Similarly, he contends that 'race' did not markedly divide relationships between students; moreover, that the school experienced a markedly non-racist environment. He suggests that the existence of this positive environment may have accounted for the hostility of some teachers to the suggestion that they needed antiracist initiatives since imposition infers that their existing practice may in some way have been discriminatory. Consequently, in the development and implementation of school policy, he finds it important that such policies are unequivocal in their intentions and that ample discussion takes place with staff and parents regarding the implications stemming from any implementation. In terms of the increased involvement of parents and the increased promotion and recruitment of black staff, both remain undeveloped.

Foster concludes that the process of multicultural and antiracist change which had taken place over the two year study had been varied. However, he believes primarily that the operation of discrimination should be located not in the school but in "the structure and organisation of the wider educational system" (p.498) which through economic, social and cultural factors were determining the educational career of students from different social backgrounds. In making this distinction, he does not consider adequately the possibility that urban schools such as 'Milltown High' might not be responding to the local



needs of its parents and pupils. Instead he focuses almost exclusively on factors of cultural, social and economic deprivation to explain why the teachers and the school may have experienced difficulties in initiating antiracist change. Foster locates any problems associated with the initiation of multicultural and antiracist change not with the teachers and the school but with "a substantial proportion of the student intake" who "were hostile to or ambivalent towards their schooling" (p.498). He does not consider adequately the possibility that substantial numbers of black pupils might have been "hostile" and "ambivalent" towards their schooling due to existing racist practices and procedures in the school.

In the evaluation's preoccupation with principles relating to the ethnic minority students, Foster's research restricts its focus, excluding any detailed examination of how racism might have been operating and subsequently reproduced in the beliefs and practices of the teachers and the institutional structures of the school.

Foster is particularly critical of antiracist commentators whom he believes have concentrated on the negative aspects of schooling. He argues that in their prescriptive criticism they have failed to offer practical alternatives and have misunderstood the constraints placed upon teachers and schools to implement change. However, in regards to

this criticism, if the educational demands made by antiracist commentators are to be tested then they might need to be included in an evaluative model which allows for their expression. He fails to incorporate adequately more explicit antiracist variables into his analysis, for example, by considering how far the school responded to the identification and deconstructing of individual and institutional forms of racism (see Bhavnani, 1986; Brandt, 1987). So I believe the opportunity for empirically validating his critique of antiracism becomes a non sequitur. Indeed, the nature of change at "Milltown" might be even more limited when one considers that the areas of change against which the teachers and the school were evaluated were primarily multicultural, rather than the more radical and stringent objectives of antiracism (Gaine, 1987; Lynch, 1990). Nevertheless, Foster's ethnographic research undoubtedly enhances an understanding of the processes involved in the facilitation of multicultural and antiracist educational innovation and as such stands as a benchmark for future endeavours, including the study of the Swann Project.

#### **The Research of Troyna (1988)**

A related area of educational development which in principle has been on the ascendancy yet has remained empirically under-researched is the development of whole-school policies (Troyna, 1988), which is addressed in

chapter seven of this study. A degree of consensus exists between proponents of MCE and ARE on the need to develop an overall strategy in which to locate curriculum developments and to counter racism (Banks,1986). Due to the limited nature of empirical research, schools committed to the enactment of whole-school policies have had to rely primarily on prescriptive guidelines. (See Gaine,1987; National Union of Teachers,1989). However, Troyna (1988) in an article entitled 'The Career of an Antiracist Education School Policy: Some Observations on the Mismanagement of Change' attempts to describe the process of change and identify factors which may inhibit the development of whole-school policy.

While he did not want to deflect from the significance of teacher racism in the process of race-related policy formulation and implementation (Green,1982; Figueora,1984; Wright,1985,1987), Troyna was concerned with developing explanatory frameworks through identifying variables which may not be immediately reducible to undeveloped notions of institutional racism. For example, he cites Boyd (1985) who refers to the difficulties associated with issues of organisation and management, in particular the myriad of perspectives not only on 'race' and education but also on questions of professionalism with which one may need to negotiate in order to facilitate change.

Troyna's research highlights the ways in which the formal operational procedures for instituting change within a school was inter-related with general notions of professionalism in establishing an ethos which was opposed to innovation. He refers to the work of Mitchell (1984), highlighting that successful school-based innovation usually results from inter-departmental negotiation. Consequently, in those large scale educational institutions which cannot facilitate this process the possibility of whole-school change is reduced.

Further, it is in this type of environment that strong professional subject loyalties tend to develop (Hargreaves,1980) and where cross-curricular innovation is particularly difficult. Consequently, in negotiating a whole-school policy, the power of professional culture was discovered to be particularly significant. Teachers were found to be opposed to change as they "resented the intrusion into their routine practices and arrangements which the policy implied" (Troyna,1988,p.173).

The process was also handicapped by the general deterioration in the educational climate in which teachers perceived their control to be diminishing. Consequently, the introduction of any new initiative was viewed with suspicion and hostility. Moreover, the problems were increased if the innovation proposed was in a particularly

controversial area (see also Kelly,1985). In introducing the necessity for an antiracist policy, the implicit message to staff was that their existing practice was to some extent inadequate. Teachers interpreted such policy as a challenge to their professional competency and resented its introduction. Troyna considers the way in which this explains the reluctance of staff to accept the validity and relevance of change in their department and their preference for the formulation of an equal opportunities rather than an explicit antiracist policy.

The findings of Troyna's research have important ramifications for future practice in terms of the presentation and introduction of whole-school policies and the utilisation of in-service programmes which focus exclusively on racism. In highlighting the significance of professional culture, he considers variables not usually associated with institutional racism and in differentiating between "racist intent, racist practices and racist effects" (Troyna and Williams,1986,p.56) he reaffirms the complexity of the debate.

#### **The Swann Report (DES,1985)**

In 1985 the committee of inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority groups, under its second chair, Lord Swann, published its final report "Education for All" (Swann Report: DES, 1985). The report offered

recommendations to the Government, LEAs, schools and teachers on how they might respond to a 'multiracial' society. It stressed that while those LEAs which directly serviced the black community should respond to specific needs, it was the responsibility of all LEAs to provide an education for all pupils which reflected the fact that Britain was now a 'multiracial' society. The report stated that these reforms were considered particularly necessary in schools in all-white areas and that they were expected to permeate the whole curriculum, not simply be added on as additional courses or subjects.

It was hoped that pupils would learn about their own cultural identity and history, and learn to respect those of other pupils as equally important as their own. The report also moved the onus away from the family on to the need for schools to re-examine their pastoral support system in terms of home-school liaison, so that parents unfamiliar with the educational system could participate more fully in the process of supporting their children's education.

The report stated that it wanted to:

..look ahead to educating all children from whatever ethnic group, to an understanding of the shared values of our society as a whole as well as to an appreciation of the diversity of life styles and cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds which make up this society and the wider world. In so doing, all pupils should be given the knowledge and

skills needed not only to contribute positively to shaping the future nature of British society but also to determine their own individual identities, free from preconceived or imposed stereotypes of their "place" in that society. We believe that schools also however have a responsibility, within the tradition of a flexible and child-centred education system, to meet the individual educational needs of all pupils in a positive and supportive manner, and this would include catering for any particular needs which an ethnic minority pupil may have, rising for example from his or her linguistic or cultural background. (Swann Report, 1985, p.316-317)

In addition to its support for the promotion of cultural diversity, it also reaffirmed the interim report (DES, 1981) in its consideration of the issue of racism, distinguishing two forms: individual prejudice and institutional racism. Individual prejudice was considered to be derived from ignorance and reinforced through the perpetuation of stereotypes. The report stresses the recalcitrance of individuals to change these prejudiced views even when presented with evidence which invalidates them. The task of education is to dismantle these stereotypical misconceptions and to promote a greater critical awareness which enables individuals to make more informed judgements.

The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) (1985), although welcoming discussion on racism as individual prejudice, believed that the report failed to go far enough in its appreciation of the extent to which racism exists amongst teachers and pupils, not simply as ignorance but as a product of British culture. In particular, it recommended that more research needed to be conducted into racism

amongst teachers. The National Anti-Racist Education Movement (NAME) (1985) considers that the report failed to acknowledge prejudice as part of a social ideology which "constantly reproduces itself and functions to legitimate the subordination of black people in Britain"

(NAME,1985,p.1). In the Swann Report (1985) institutional racism is viewed as practices and procedures which operate either intentionally or unintentionally in a manner which discriminates against ethnic minority groups. However, while they continue to discriminate through the everyday functioning of institutions, they are considered an anachronistic by-product of a system designed at a time before Britain was a multiracial society. Institutional racism is, therefore, considered to be primarily one of effect rather than of intent associated with individual prejudice.

The reference to institutional as opposed to simply individual forms of racism was an important progression. However, in viewing institutional racism as a form of unwanted legacy from a bygone age, the definition does not consider how institutions currently developing practices and procedures are to ensure that they are not reinforcing and regenerating racism. In this respect, the report provides an inadequate analysis of institutional racism and the ways in which it might be most appropriately dealt with (CRE,1985).



Naguib (1985) contends that sections of the black community consider the Swann Report itself to be racist. Although black individuals participated in the Swann Committee (see Wright, 1985), Naguib argues that in the context of the relationships operating within the predominantly white committee structure their influence was marginalised. Consequently, the report has been labelled racist because:

It imposes the views and prescriptions of a dominant and powerful group upon the powerless. It is a white interpretation of black people's concerns and demands, rather than being based upon an acceptance of black people's own interpretation and articulation of their reality and so found patronising and insulting to black people. (Naguib, 1985, p.8)

The Swann Report contextualises the educational principles it expounds by advancing an ideal of Britain as a cultural pluralist society. (The relationship of this theoretical position to the conceptual development of multicultural and antiracist education has already been considered.)

While the report rejects the notion of cultural assimilation on behalf of ethnic minorities, it also rejects the idea of separatism, believing it to be oppositional to the ideal of society as a unity based on common principles, values and shared experiences. Further, the report views the moves towards separatism as a threat to the stability and cohesion of society.

Naguib (1985) critically argues that whereas the report views separatism as bad for both society and the black community, sections of the black community believe separate development to be the only way forward. This position, it is argued, is not one that has developed through choice but has evolved through alienation and necessity. In arguing against separate schools, it reinforces the argument that the report is racist, as it appears to be telling the black community what was and was not best for them. Moreover, the manner in which it addresses the issue legitimised racist stereotypes, concerning Muslims in particular, by portraying them as not wishing to be an integral part of society (Naguib,1985).

In terms of mother-tongue and community languages, the report believed that these should be encouraged to develop separately, for example, through the offering of school premises to ethnic minority groups to hold their own community language instruction. Further, where a school possessed a considerable percentage of speakers of one community language, then consideration should be given by the school to placing it on the modern language syllabus with equal status to that of other modern languages. However, in not recognising the need to incorporate bilingualism and mother-tongue instruction within mainstream schooling and teaching, it was argued that the report implicitly presented English as superior

(NAME,1985). Further, in equating the instruction of English with education and schooling, and mother-tongue instruction with non-educational community-based cultural maintenance, community languages are devalued and the report was "reflecting a cultural form of racism" (Naguib,1986,p.9).

A major remit of the Swann Committee was the question of educational 'underachievement' amongst ethnic minority children. However, by differentiating between 'West Indians' and 'Asians', its method of ethnic categorisation was believed to be too simplistic. In addition, it underplayed the role of institutional racism in general, and amongst teachers in particular, as a major contributory factor in the educational performance of black youngsters (CRE,1985; NAME,1985; Naguib,1985).

The report recommended that as it was the role of the teachers to prepare children for life in a multicultural society then it was important that initial and in-service training took account of this task. The report opposed the idea of optional courses and advocated that multiculturalism should permeate every area of instruction. It also stressed that racist and prejudiced attitudes on behalf of teachers should be regarded as unprofessional. However, reservations were expressed about the emphasis given to teacher training in cultural diversity rather than

on understanding and countering racism (CRE,1985; NAME,1985). The report was also believed to have paid insufficient attention to the reasons why existing practices were inadequate and ways in which they might be improved and implemented (NAME,1985).

The report noted that black teachers were under-represented in the education system in general and in senior positions in particular. However, in recommending that a statistical survey be conducted to establish the degree of under-representation, the report failed to give attention to the fact that the collection of statistics may simply confirm stereotypes about the educability of black people (CRE,1985) who, therefore, need to be consulted about the process to be adopted (NAME,1985). The CRE (1985) suggested that any evidence of racial discrimination emerging from statistical evidence must be matched by an undertaking that positive action should be taken to rectify the situation. Furthermore, in the interim, lack of statistical evidence should not be used as an excuse for inaction.

In terms of action, the Swann Report under the heading "A Strategy for Change" (p.769) recommended that:

The response of schools, both "multiracial" and "all white" to cultural diversity has to be seen as a central feature of the current debate on the balance and breadth of the school curriculum. The Secretary of State should focus on this issue..in any further statements that he may make and any agreements that he may seek about the curriculum;

All LEAs should declare their commitment to the principles of "Education for All", to the development of a pluralist approach to the curriculum, and to countering the influence of racism;

Every LEA should have at least one adviser and perhaps a senior officer with responsibility to promote the policies we have put forward, to act as a catalyst to encourage teachers and other advisers to adopt a pluralist perspective in their work;

HMI should give attention to the extent to which the curriculum takes full account of the multiracial nature of society and should highlight in their reports, including reports on individual schools, instances of "good practice" and areas of concern;

HMI should issue clear guidance on the practical implications of adopting a pluralist approach to the curriculum and on ways of countering the influence of racism on schools;

The School Curriculum Development Committee should review existing materials which reflect a pluralist approach to the curriculum. The Committee should consider how these materials may be made more widely known and how the production of further such resources may be stipulated;

Examining Boards should reflect cultural diversity in the syllabuses they offer and in their working practices;

The Secondary Examinations Council should co-operate with the School Curriculum Development Committee to ensure that initiatives broadening the school curriculum are reflected by paralleled developments within the examinations system;

All LEAs should expect their schools to produce clear policy statements on "Education for All" and monitor their practical implementation;

All schools whether multiracial or "all white" should review their work in light of the principles which we have put forward. In secondary schools it may be necessary to establish departmental working parties to appraise provision in different subject areas;

All schools should adopt clear policies to combat racism;

The DES should organise a series of regional conferences for elected members of LEAs, teachers and other educationalists to discuss the implications of this Report. The conclusions of these conferences might subsequently be drawn to the attention of a wider audience in a conference report;

The Government should revise the provisions of Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 to make it more appropriate to the needs of the ethnic minority communities;

The Secretary of State should include a growing number of initiatives and pilot projects designed to develop a broader, pluralist approach to the curriculum within arrangements for educational support grants;

The DES should implement the recommendations of our Interim Report relating to the collection of ethnically-based statistics within education.  
(DES,1985,p.769-77)

A weakness of the report, identified by Cornford (1985) in an annex to it, was that the recommendations were primarily "acts of faith" (DES,1985,p.181). The lack of systematic empirical research data meant that it could not offer any examples of good practice to support its case. The hope was that as LEAs and schools responded to the recommendations then they could be tested in practice and their appropriateness gauged. However, in making these recommendations, the report fails to recognise the unequal power relationship between black and white people in the planning and delivery of educational innovation  
(NAME,1985).

Naguib (1985) argues that the report might have given expression to many of the concerns of the black community. Nevertheless, he remains sceptical as to its ability to produce positive government, LEA and school responses, which are defined by the black community through their active participation in the decision-making processes. Whatever the inadequacies of the Swann Report, as Rattansi (1989) states:

...it provides to date the most substantial "official", or at least "semi-official", backing for the serious reconsideration of educational practices in the light of the black presence in Britain. It has put issues of cultural diversity and racism in relation to education on the national agenda; in particular, it has attempted to establish the case for tackling these issues as a matter of urgency for both white and ethnically mixed schools.  
(Rattansi, 1989, p.44)

Although the overall impact of the Swann Report on educational policy and provision is difficult to determine precisely, the recommendation concerning the establishment of curriculum development projects funded via Educational Support Grants (ESGs) resulted in the creation of 120 projects between 1985 and 1989 (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988). Moreover, it acted as the catalyst for numerous other LEA initiatives, including the Swann Project.

The stated aim of ESGs was to encourage Local Authorities to deploy a limited amount of expenditure into activities which appear to the Secretary of State for Education to be

of particular importance. The Secretary of State withholds 1% of the rate support grant in order to finance the initiative. In addition, it is a requirement of those receiving a grant that they fund 30% of the overall expenditure. Subsequently, as the DES had access to the findings of the Swann Report prior to publication, it was decided that one of the areas for which LEA bids would be welcomed, between 1985-1989, was under the category "Education in a Multi-Ethnic Society".

According to Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) the DES offered advice to LEAs as to the criteria they needed to satisfy in making a bid. The areas covered included the feasibility of the project in terms of funding, staffing and size. LEAs were also expected to outline the project's aims and objectives and the ways in which these were to be achieved. In addition, the DES required that the bids had the full support of the LEA, rather than just individual officers, and that any project would be staffed by experienced and committed staff who "could not only innovate but also influence colleagues" (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.6). It was recommended that project staff were paid at advisory teacher level.

Furthermore, the DES stated that projects should have some form of internal evaluation, produce an annual progress report, be regularly visited by HMI, involve local HMIs and



establish a local management or steering committee. However, there was no requirement to appoint an external evaluator.

Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) indicate that not all bids in the first round of the ESG's availability in 1985 were successful. They state that although the DES viewed the presentation of these unsuccessful proposals for projects as perfunctory, it was in part understandable since initially in 1985 no criteria for submission were specified. However, in 1987, when the LEA in the study made an unsuccessful ESG bid to fund the Swann Project, criteria were available. Subsequently, the LEA decided to fund the project out of its mainstream budget but made another bid in 1989 to fund its continuation, which was also unsuccessful. Despite my requests to LEA officers as to the format of these submissions and the reasons for their rejection, they were never made available (see chapter three for an examination of the Swann Project's funding). Moreover, Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) include in their study two LEA projects which, like the LEA in this study, had been refused an ESG and were mainstream-funded. Indeed, Newcastle LEA had also been unsuccessful on two previous occasions.

### **The Study of Tomlinson and Coulson (1988)**

Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) undertook a study of ESG projects with the objective of analysing and evaluating the effects of initiatives aimed at responding to the recommendations of the Swann Report, particularly in all-white areas. As a study involving 24 projects investigated over a period of six months, the research findings were unable to possess the qualitative depth of analysis associated with much longer school-based ethnographic investigations. Nevertheless, in broadening its focus and concentrating on white areas, the study provides not only an insight into a relatively under-researched area but contributes to the identification of issues which might be applicable generally to empirical work on "race" and education.

The study of Tomlinson and Coulson was intended as a descriptive analysis and all the projects investigated commenced between 1985 and 1986, their duration varying between one and five years. LEA advisers were cited as the individuals most responsible for initiating the LEA's ESG bid and for promoting the idea of a project. Indeed, it was found that the support of senior LEA officers was a crucial factor in determining the project's success. Evidence was also provided which indicated that project staff believed the projects were unlikely to be successful without the support of the education committee and elected members.

The aims of the majority of the projects were in line with those of the Swann Report and concerned both the raising of individual awareness as to the multicultural nature of society, and identifying and countering racism. In terms of the conceptual approach adopted by the projects to undertake this task, the study reaffirmed the notion of synthesis and concludes:

In the literature on "race" and education what are termed "multicultural" approaches and "antiracist" approaches are often presented as mutually exclusive. This view may be too dogmatic, and misrepresent the actual situations in schools. (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.167)

For example, it was found that materials used to promote cultural diversity were also used to address the issue of racism as perpetuated through the myth of white cultural superiority. In addition, project staff attempting to facilitate change in all-white authorities believed that antiracist approaches which focused overtly on a teacher's racist assumptions and practices were likely to alienate them and restrict the project's development. Teachers were also found to be influenced in their attitudes towards the project by the media's campaign against antiracism.

Consequently, it was believed to be more appropriate to start with a "softly-softly" approach, such as Britain as a multicultural society, which was less confrontational and enabled initial access to staff and classrooms. The promotion of multiculturalism was viewed as a tactical

means of overcoming the unwilling participation of staff and through using it as the basis for further development, moving them gradually towards an antiracist perspective. However, as the projects were on-going at the time of the study, evidence as to the efficacy of this tactic remains unsubstantiated.

A strategy of "linguistic compromise" (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.187) was also employed whereby staff and parents alienated by the label 'antiracism' were willing to participate in the project as long as initiatives were referred to as 'multicultural'. However, as the study recognises:

..there is a danger that in retreating from the label teachers could be retreating from the real action required. (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.187)

The focus of the projects investigated varied between those which emphasised the need to develop curriculum materials and classroom practices, and those which gave primacy to changing teacher attitudes. Subsequently, the two major approaches adopted were through in-service training and curriculum development. Project teams found that the development of materials by working in collaboration with other teachers was the most successful strategy. This was found to be particularly positive in a classroom environment in which pupils could witness staff working together on the issue. Teachers in co-operation with

project staff developed new methods of teaching which favoured a less didactic and more interactive learner-centred approach which was viewed as inseparable from discussions on equality and justice. Significantly:

The way in which curriculum materials and teaching strategies were employed appeared to be more important in achieving attitude change than the actual materials. (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.177)

However, project staff discovered that when it came to curriculum development many teachers found it difficult to disassociate themselves from traditional forms of learning and instruction; moving away from subject-specific boundaries towards cross-curricular instruction was equally problematical. Several project staff indicated that the utilisation of some multicultural material, for example the use of posters in which black people were represented in traditional costume, produced a negative reaction from white pupils and reinforced racist stereotypes.

In-service training was another predominant method of working with staff and varied between on-site and outside school sessions. The content ranged from presentations on the development of materials to departmental staff, to whole-school training days using audio-visual presentations and group work. However, whilst stressing its importance, Tomlinson and Coulson do not comment on the suitability of particular in-service approaches.

In the study several issues which project staff believed to be problematic were identified. First, they found that teachers tended to underplay the necessity for the project by overestimating the existing cultural awareness of their pupils. Furthermore, teachers tended to deny the existence of racism within the school and belie the necessity for the project. Teachers were found to make claims that, for example, by raising the issue it might make the situation worse, that in any case blacks were racist amongst themselves and that the project was taking the issue too far in the other direction. Identified as "red herrings" (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.180) by project staff, workers, nevertheless, found that these positions had to be negotiated before progress could be made which was exceedingly time-consuming. In dealing with proponents of these views, project staff found that it was extremely difficult to dissuade people through rational argument, although limited success was achieved by presenting teachers with examples of racist work done by their pupils.

However, while this type of approach might change the attitude of teachers who disclaim the project's relevance by refuting the pervasiveness of racism amongst pupils, it might be more difficult to change the attitude of those who are themselves racist.

Indeed, the project staff found no benefit in spending time with racist staff and preferred instead to work with colleagues with whom they believed they might have some measure of success. As Tomlinson and Coulson were led to conclude:

..the ESG projects are a support for those teachers and others in white areas who genuinely wish to change their practices and attitudes. (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.191)

The LEA projects tended to support those teachers who already had a desire to change their practice. The most pressing task, therefore, might be the initiation of projects and the development of strategies which could persuade less committed teachers to change their practice. In order to refine existing strategies and develop new ones, Tomlinson and Coulson reiterate the need for more school-based evaluative research.

### **Conclusion**

In part one I revealed how differences and similarities between proponents of antiracist education on the one hand and proponents of multicultural education on the other, obscured any clear demarcation between the two concepts (Modgil et al, 1986).

Moreover, I examined how in response to criticism and pragmatic reflection a significant part of the current debate on the response to racism and education focuses upon

the synthesis of antiracism and multiculturalism (Leicester,1986; Grinter,1985; Gaine,1987). However, in addressing the question of racism and education, the problem for multicultural and/or antiracist protagonists is the limited amount of empirical research available to validate the suitability of any particular approach (Rattansi,1989).

In part two I considered the issues raised and strategies highlighted within the existing research literature with the objective of contributing to the debate. In making that contribution, the research will incorporate into its focus areas of study which have been precluded from previous investigations. In this instance, the management aspects of the project's creation and development, including its political and organisational background, the recruitment of the project team and the selection and nature of the project schools are all examined as an integral part of the process of change.

In responding to the need for more ethnographic research (Cohen,1987), the study also addresses particular issues raised in previous research on multicultural and antiracist innovation, these include: the need for support and guidance from LEA officials (Tomlinson and Coulson,1988); the involvement of the black community in the process of change (Rex,1983; Naguib,1985); the need to be explicit



about the issue of racism in facilitating school-based change (Brandt,1986); the use of collaborative approaches in initiating change (Grugeon and Woods,1990); and the identification of variables restricting departmental and whole-school change not usually associated with institutional racism (Troyna,1988). Moreover, in reflecting on the research findings, the study will conclude with the presentation of a research approach derived from the life history method (Woods,1987) which may further contribute to an understanding and initiation of change on the issue of racism and education.

The literature in this introductory chapter has therefore also helped to develop the notion of the research (Woods,1990) and the research perspective, which is discussed in detail in the next chapter on research theory and methods.

## CHAPTER TWO

### RESEARCH THEORY AND METHODS

#### The Theoretical and Methodological Context

As previously stated, the OU was approached by an LEA requesting an independent evaluation of a two year multicultural educational initiative, the Swann Project. The methods adopted for the research were qualitative techniques formulated and developed within the ethnographic tradition of educational research (Burgess, 1984; Woods, 1986). In general terms an ethnographic study is concerned with describing the way of life of a group of people, their behaviour and interaction, as well as their perspectives, beliefs and value systems which evolve and change both over time and according to circumstances and situations. Primacy is given to the accounts and interpretations of these individuals, the presentation of which is attempted through the researcher operating within the group or institution of which s/he is a part (Woods, 1986).

Whilst the study of the Swann Project was to use ethnographic methods (see section on research methods), it was also to be an evaluation. As Knapp (1979) contends, where ethnography has a tradition which offers an open-ended exploratory approach to the research problem an

evaluation cannot always be so flexible. For example, in reference to educational innovation, it may be that the sponsors have a particular topic in mind, a certain programme, a target group and a set of questions with inherent policy assumptions. The researcher in doing an evaluation is, therefore, located in the middle of the action, part of a political process which includes educational change (MacDonald,1974). Moreover, the curriculum developments with which researchers undertaking an evaluation are concerned may well be the practical manifestation of political decisions, "proposed, defined, debated, enacted and funded through political processes" (Weiss,1975,p.13). Subsequently, research, which I shall term evaluative research, is undertaken in a political context and is itself a political activity (House,1973; MacDonald,1974; Weiss,1975). As MacDonald (1974) states:

Evaluators do not only live in the real world of educational politics, they actually influence its changing power relationships..Evaluators are committed to a political stance..The selection of roles, goals, audiences, issues and techniques by evaluators provides clues to their political allegiances. (MacDonald,1974,p.43)

According to MacDonald evaluators have difficult choices to make. They have to decide what information to collect, how to collect it and which decision-makers it will serve. Furthermore, "the resolution of these issues commits the evaluator to a political stance" (MacDonald,1974,p.42). A case therefore exists for those embarking on evaluative

research to make their 'political stance' or perspective on the issue under investigation explicit. I believe this to be particularly important when undertaking evaluative research on educational initiatives which are themselves as politically contentious and controversial as multicultural and antiracist education (Troyna and Foster, 1988). Moreover, in undertaking qualitative research as Woods (1990) observes:

The researcher does not stand above and outside the research. The research is contextualised within situations and definitions of situation; research activities are constructed and interpreted in distinctive processes; and the researcher's self is inextricably bound up with the research.  
(Woods, 1990, pp. 40-41)

I believe that the presentation of the research perspective and biographical information which has informed that perspective make important contributions to the contextualisation of the qualitative research process and the interpretation of the research findings.

### **The Research Perspective**

The following biographical details are not only germane to the validity of the research (see later section on research validity) but also provide an insight into how I came to develop the research perspective which was to inform the study of the Swann Project.

As Sikes and Troyna (1990) writing from an antiracist perspective state:

..we believe that the nature of the work to which we commit ourselves and which is reported here demands some such contextualisation. (Sikes and Troyna, 1990, p.1)

As the Grammar School-educated son of a Steelworker (Boilermaker-Burner) growing up in a town in the North East of England, I first became aware and interested in the practical and theoretical aspects of racism when in 1976 I became an undergraduate student at Bradford University. As a member of the students' union executive (external affairs) at a time when National Front activity was at its height, I became actively involved in 'Anti-Nazi League' campaigns alongside the local black (Asian and Afro-Caribbean) communities. In my final year I undertook undergraduate research into the cultural identity of Gypsies and examined the educational provision for their children, visiting sites and interviewing Gypsy activists. In 1979 I travelled to Israel and spent eight months working on a Kibbutz followed by time with UNICEF staff in Palestinian refugee camps in the Gaza Strip.

On returning, I undertook postgraduate research into racism and social policy provision for "ethnic minorities" in Cardiff at University College Cardiff (1980-1982). Subsequently, between 1983-1985, I was employed as a Research Assistant at Aston University in Birmingham,

conducting qualitative research into racism on four West Midlands housing estates. As a consequence of the long periods of time spent in the field working alongside black and white community-based groups, I decided to work full-time in the field. I therefore attended Swansea University where I gained the necessary professional qualification.

I was subsequently employed as an Antiracist Strategist by Leeds LEA (1986-1988). The post which was funded through an ESG entailed working alongside a black colleague in youth centres, schools and on the streets in an area with high levels of racial attacks and violence. We were responsible for facilitating and initiating antiracist programmes with black and white youths, teachers and youth workers. During this period we were also trained as "racism awareness" trainers and ran courses together for LEA employees.

At the time of joining the OU the research perspective which I had developed and which informed the study of the Swann Project was conceptually antiracist and accorded with the general analysis of writers such as Brandt (1986), Hatcher (1987) and Gilroy (1987) who are referred to in chapter one.

A definition of racism with which I concur is offered by Carter and Williams (1987) who state:

The core of racism is the assignment of characteristics in a deterministic way to a group, or groups of persons. These characteristics are usually articulated around some cultural or biological feature such as skin colour or religion; they are regarded as inherent or unalterable precisely because they are seen as derived from one's "race". Race-ism then employs these race-ial characteristics to explain behaviour, feelings, attitudes, and ways of life. (Carter and Williams, 1987, p.176)

In addition, I believe a careful distinction may be made between racism as defined above and racial discrimination in the guise of "intentional and unintentional behaviour and institutional processes" (Rattansi, 1989, p.14). For example, racist beliefs and attitudes may not always result in racial discrimination due to the lack of opportunity and/or power. Similarly, action against discriminatory practice, such as antiracist whole-school policies, does not necessarily prevent teachers from holding racist beliefs. Equally, racism awareness programmes which attempt to change individual beliefs and attitudes may be counter-productive (Sivanandan, 1985), or at least as presently constituted "misguided" (Troyna, 1988) in expecting to effect change in wider institutional processes. Furthermore, racial discrimination can be both intentional, for example colour bars, and unintentional, for example through school uniform regulations, whilst still having a discriminatory effect (Troyna and Williams, 1986).

As Troyna and Williams (1986) state:

..the relationship between racist intent, racialist practices and racist effects (in the form of inequality) is not as clear-cut as many would have us believe. The imperative must be to clarify empirically these relationships if realistic and productive antiracist policies are to be formulated. (Troyna and Williams, 1986, p.56)

It is also important to point out that in defining acts of racial discrimination, factors other than racism may need to be considered, for example, in a case of racial harassment where the victim is a woman sexual harassment might also be a factor (Lees, 1986).

The research perspective I hold contends that racism cannot be abstracted from broader political, social and historical processes, which in turn have institutionalised, legitimised and sustained unequal relationships of power and privilege between class, 'race' and gender groups in society (Hall, 1978, 1980; Troyna, 1987). However, I believe that while an analysis of racism cannot be totally removed from the historical and socio-economic structures in which it operates (Craft, 1984), nor can it be totally reduced to them (Castles and Kosack, 1973). In this respect Hall (1980) attempts to avoid "the Scylla of a reductionism which must deny almost everything in order to explain something, and the Charybdis of pluralism which is so mesmerised by "everything" that it cannot explain anything" (p.343).



My research perspective therefore might be generally located within a framework which supports the relative autonomy of racism (Hall,1980). The relative autonomy position advocates that racism is understood as historically specific, in that there have been many different forms of racism or racisms which have operated and been articulated according to the particular historical and economic epoch in which they are located (Hall,1978). In the present political socio-economic system, racism is considered relatively autonomous to the social relations of capitalism. As Williams (1989) states:

"Race" is not reduced to the needs of capital but is a "modality" interacting in a complex way with class and gender. Racism is not an autonomous ideology nor an ahistorical constant, but a materially rooted and changing set of ideas. (Williams,1989,p.101)

Consequently, engagement with the issue of racism should provide an important insight into the historical development and operation of society, offering access to an understanding of the political and social issues at its core, including its relationship to the perpetuation of injustice and inequality (Hall,1980).

In practical terms, while collective strategies may be developed which link campaigns by groups such as black people, women, gays, the elderly and disabled people, recognition might also be given to the particular forms of oppression which each group experiences. Consequently,

while the general mantle of equal opportunity might be evoked as a collective cloak, it would not be used to subsume any one group (Troyna and Williams,1986). The need for equal opportunities policies, black individuals to be in positions of power and influence, and more resources to be allocated to the black communities is acknowledged and might be campaigned for by supporters of a relative autonomy position (Williams,1989).

However, as the elimination of racism and other forms of oppression is believed to require ultimately the transformation of society (Sarup,1986), so the limitations of any of these reforms are also recognised. The possibility for change and the elimination of oppression primarily reside in organised black resistance. In the context of antiracist education, this process might ideally include the forging of alliances between community-based black groups, including black parents, teachers and pupils campaigning against racism in schools, alongside white antiracist working class and women's groups (Hatcher,1987; Gilroy,1987). As Gilroy (1987) states:

I propose that we reject the central image of ourselves as victims and install instead an alternative conception which sees us as an active force working in many different ways for our freedom from racial subordination. The plural is important here for there can be no single or homogenous strategy against racism because racism itself is never homogenous. It varies, it changes and it is always uneven. (Gilroy,1987,p.15)

In considering the development of strategies against racism Williams (1989) notes a shortfall of the relative autonomy position. In concentrating on the manifestations of state racism and the need for generalised political campaigns (see Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982), qualitative research on the local state has been relatively neglected. For example, the need to identify, counter and eliminate racist beliefs and discriminatory practices, undertaken in association with the incorporation and permeation of teaching about "race" into the curriculum, has been prescribed (Bhavnani, 1986; Brah and Deem, 1986). Individuals and groups dealing with and working in educational institutions who might be fully aware of the limitations of reform have not necessarily been provided with information regarding ways in which they might develop strategies within and against these limitations (Williams, 1989). Ideally, therefore, antiracist evaluative research on the Swann Project might aim to produce empirically-grounded knowledge (Troyna and Carrington, 1989) which contributes to "the emancipation of racially defined oppressed groups from the oppressive structures of racist practice (Brandt, 1986, p.126).

In addition, as the notion of emancipation applies not only to the oppressed but also the oppressor, the research findings might ideally contribute to a process whereby white individuals develop an increased understanding and

commitment to antiracist values and practice. What is meant by emancipation in this context is that which may arise from a notion of empowerment, whereby individuals as Giroux (1988) states:

..acquire the means to critically appropriate knowledge existing outside their immediate experience in order to broaden their understanding of themselves, the world and the possibilities for transforming the taken-for-granted assumptions about the way we live. (Giroux,1988,p.189)

However, it might not only be presumptuous but also pretentious if I were to suggest that the antiracist evaluation of the Swann Project might contribute in any other than a minimal way towards these ideals. In effect the claim for emancipatory change (unlike some antiracist research approaches, for example: see the approach of Troyna and Carrington (1989) in the next section) is a futurity-based on the supposition of consciousness-raising. Individuals might increase their understanding and/or change their practice by utilising the account (Gitlin, Siegal and Boru, 1989).

In this manner the research aims to assist all those engaged in initiating and working towards antiracist educational innovation. Significantly, however, in relation to the process of change initiated by the project team, the findings and recommendations which evolved from the study might be considered as general principles of innovatory practice.

They might therefore be equally applicable to initiators, campaigners, and managers of change, whatever their conceptual position.

Holding an antiracist perspective raises some very important methodological and theoretical questions which may have consequences for the research process. In the next section I begin to explore some of these questions in relation to the antiracist research approach of Troyna and Carrington (1989).

### **Antiracist Research: Independence or Collaboration?**

Troyna and Carrington (1989) have attempted to establish some general principles in their support of an antiracist perspective and research. They expound their own conceptualisation of what they mean by an antiracist educational pedagogy and refer to the principles of social justice, equality and participatory democracy. They emphasise the need for schools to enskill pupils, to take a more critical stance on political issues, to question openly the distribution and application of power, and to empathise with oppressed groups.

Troyna and Carrington are in effect recommending not only a reconstruction of classroom practices but also a political democratisation of the whole school based on collaborative and co-operative styles of working. They refer to critical

theory and the methodology of Lather (1986); the researcher joins with the subjects of the research not only to expose inequality and injustice, moreover to utilise the process of knowledge generation as a direct challenge to the status quo. Through such a combined process, the subjects of the research are dialogically able to transcend the existing parameters of their distorted commonsense knowledge and are subsequently empowered as they:

..come to understand and change their own oppressive realities. (Lather,1986,p.2)

Troyna and Carrington (1989) share this educative objective and overcome accusations of relativism and practising "underdog sociology" by adopting Gouldner's (1975) allegiance to ethical principles. Gouldner states:

It is to values, not factions, that sociologists must give their most basic commitment.  
(Gouldner,1975,p.68)

Troyna and Carrington posit collaborative research as a possible means of working in accordance with their antiracist principles of equality, justice and participatory democracy. The distinctive nature of this approach is that it aims to improve practice and understanding at the same time. Similarly, Elliott (1976) in the Ford Teaching Project illustrates ways in which collaborative action with teaching staff can lead to confrontation with the senior managers of schools and a political realisation of the limitations of their fields of

action. Elliott (1982) further believes that since action research has an emancipatory potential for consciousness-raising, it can be conceptualised as an expression of critical social science which can help identify practices and understandings which a system might have distorted and explain the mechanisms that caused them (Elliot,1982).

The antiracist perspective of Troyna and Carrington (1989) means that teachers and researcher collaborate in devising, implementing and evaluating their antiracist policies. The process would assist the researcher in understanding the nature of the individual, practical and institutional constraints to implementing antiracist initiatives. Moreover, as staff would be directly involved in the process, any negative attitudes and behaviour of staff towards antiracism could be identified and addressed. However, a difficulty in this approach may reside in the insufficient attention it pays to the problems of persuading those who do not already share similar levels of commitment to an issue to join in the collaborative process. For example, Troyna and Carrington (1989) advocate the voluntary collaboration between teachers and researcher in the planning and implementation of an innovation, implicitly assuming that their commitment to the method and the values of equality, justice and participatory democracy, will be shared by staff. Consequently, they may

already supported the collaborative method, already had a commitment towards addressing the issue of racism, and expressed a desire to change their existing practice.

Furthermore, given the staff's attitude towards the project team, it was equally apparent that due to the controversial nature of the issue, if racist teachers or indeed, non-antiracist teachers, had known that I was personally committed to an antiracist perspective, the opportunity for data collection might have been severely restricted. As Gans (1968) in a different research context observed:

..if people found out I was a Democrat, my future chance of obtaining data from Republicans was nil.  
(Gans,1968, quoted in Burgess,1985,p.45)

Since all participants were informed and aware that I was conducting an independent evaluation of the Swann Project, the research process was not covert (Bulmer,1982). Indeed, as a later section on research methods will reveal, the fact that I was identified by staff as an independent evaluator of the project and that they had full knowledge of the research topic was not only an advantage but in the circumstances crucial. The principle of "informed consent" (Bulmer,1982) therefore was used as a research strategy.

Nevertheless, in order to develop the trust and confidence of informants, at times I found it necessary to make professional judgements, without engaging in deception,



be promoting an approach which is reliant on staff already holding views that the collaborative approach is itself supposed to imbue.

The question then arises concerning the ways in which the approach can be implemented if no teachers in the school can be identified as sharing a commitment to agreed principles of antiracist collaborative research. Moreover, teachers and researchers may think they share a commitment but in the process of collaboration discover this not to be the case. Clearly, any disagreement amongst staff, as well as between staff and the researcher, concerning the values and principles on which the collaborative process should be based might be highly dysfunctional and problematical, especially if one does not have the support of senior teachers, particularly the Head Teacher.

In the case of the Swann Project, staff were exceedingly apprehensive and suspicious of the project team in terms of their task of addressing what they perceived as the controversial and contentious issue of racism in the schools.

Furthermore, chapter six will highlight that while the project team found that a collaborative approach with staff in terms of curriculum development was the most appropriate, it was initially only viable with staff who

concerning if, when, in what ways and to what degree I should disclose my views. As Woods (1986) states:

It is not necessary to lay all your cards on the table at one time..if you are hoping to dig up controversial material, your credentials need to be established first. Raising the possibility of controversy at too early a stage may awaken fears and close off avenues of access. (Woods,1986,p.30)

Another problem arises here. In the process of engaging in non-conflictual dialogue with informants in order to elicit their perspectives, I may have appeared to have been condoning, if not encouraging, the very beliefs and practices that as an antiracist I might hope the research findings would help to dismantle (Troyna and Carrington,1989). Consequently, I found myself having to balance constantly access to information against the dangers of reinforcement, and the principle of antiracist disclosure against reactivity and restricted access. The process was difficult; an error of judgement on one side might have compounded racist beliefs and practices, whilst on the other denied access to racist perspectives and possibly the insight necessary to counter them (for example, see chapter eight on the use of the life history method).

A similar dilemma applied in developing relationships with LEA officials associated with the project. In this context, an example can be offered of an occasion when a possible error of judgement was made and the consequences for the

research highlighted; towards the end of the field study I made my position explicit. The disclosure occurred during the CRC's annual meeting with senior LEA officers, council members and representatives of the black communities in the County. The meeting was examining educational provision within the Authority. The chairperson, having listened to contributions from senior LEA officers, asked if I would offer a view.

In commenting on the pervasiveness of racism within the County, I focused on the politically sensitive practice of selective education based on a Verbal Reasoning Quotient. I further remarked that the system, according to the LEA's own figures, had resulted in a disproportionately low number of black students attending grammar schools and that whilst initiatives such as the Swann Project might be viewed positively, there needed to be a general reappraisal of the selective education policy through which it was being initiated. These comments, whilst greeted favourably by black CRC members, were a cause of grave concern among senior LEA officers. Indeed, I overheard the Senior Education Officer with line management responsibility for the Swann Project state to a colleague, "So this is what they mean by Open University objectivity?" Consequently, when an important LEA planning meeting was held to discuss the future extension of the project, I was informed that I would not be allowed to attend.

Although at the time no explanation was offered, the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education later admitted:

Following your outburst at the CRC meeting, I think you clearly nailed your flag to the mast. You must realise that in a Conservative-controlled Authority such as this, public comments such as yours on highly sensitive political issues such as racism and selective education are not acceptable to senior officers. In making them, you lose your integrity as an objective researcher.

The incident highlighted the critical importance of professional decisions concerning disclosure and its potential consequences for the research process. In attempting to conduct an independent research on a project which dealt with the controversial and contentious issue of racism, I found that without engaging in deception and by carefully withholding the research perspective, rather than disclosing it, I was afforded the greatest access to information. On balance I believe that the contribution such information might make to the construction of antiracist strategies outweighed any dangers of reinforcement.

The debate concerning the facilitation of collaborative antiracist relationships with teachers might be somewhat premature. The promotion of antiracist research based on collaboration (Troyna and Carrington, 1989) might also be restricted in terms of securing research contracts. For example, if antiracist-grounded collaborative approaches

were shown to be effective in politicising teaching staff and empowering pupils to question the status quo (Lather,1986), it remains likely that only those project sponsors who supported such a process would engage antiracist collaborative researchers. Moreover, the collaborative method dictates that the antiracist perspective informing the approach has to be made explicit. The opportunity for tactical disguise or passing in securing contracts is not available. Therefore, in making an antiracist perspective explicit, research institutions might be denied research contracts and therefore research access (Platt,1976). As Troyna and Carrington (1989) who propose the method recognise:

..we can only wonder whether future research based on an overt commitment to antiracism would be likely to attract "official" sponsorship. (Troyna and Carrington,1989,p.21)

Consequently, whatever the emancipatory potential of the collaborative method (Elliott,1982), without access to the field through explicit antiracist research contracts, the process is denied. Moreover, this would validate the argument against collaboratively-based research used by Kushner and MacDonald (1987). They consider that the popularity of the method has arisen precisely because its school-based focus tends to support the status quo and exclude project sponsors from critical appraisal. Researchers work alongside staff, providing formative information which can make a direct contribution to the

success of an innovation. The information and knowledge generated relates to the innovatory task and the needs of the teachers involved.

In this context collaborative research is by definition situational; it deals with specific problems at the chalk face, and is therefore primarily context-bound to evaluate at the level of the school. Staff participating in the collaborative process may become critically aware of the political limitations of institutional change (Elliott,1982). However, the researcher, as part of the process and possibly dependent upon sponsorship, is restricted to framing research questions within the parameters of the innovation as determined and defined by the project sponsors. Research questions outside those boundaries, for example, concerning the ideological assumptions, motives and objectives that may underlie a project, are implicitly excluded from critical appraisal.

In relation to these restrictions it was the framing of research questions to include the management decisions on the Swann Project's initiation which was identified as an integral part in evaluating the process of change. It was possible to include these research questions in the study since the LEA approached the OU and requested an independent evaluation, as an LEA official remarked "warts and all".

The next section considers the research methods adopted to undertake the evaluation.

### **The Research Methods**

Although the research as a study of a LEA project was independent, certain features of the research were pre-selected and predetermined, for example, its location in two specific Secondary and Grammar Schools (see chapter five). Similarly, the issue of multicultural and antiracist innovation, and the process of change as undertaken by the team of four teachers were selected as the focus of the project and consequently the research. Nevertheless as a research topic, as stated earlier, the study of the Swann Project enabled the refinement and development of an issue not "saturated" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) by previous studies, thus the research findings might contribute to an area of social and political relevance (Woods, 1990).

As the research was concerned with the evaluation of a specific project, so the study developed from shadowing the work of the project team as they facilitated and initiated the process of change in two schools. The team's primary concern was in the facilitation and initiation of a departmental and whole-school environment whereby teachers would become committed to the aims and objectives of the project.

As a consequence, the research concentrates on a qualitative examination of the strategies and methods adopted by the team in engendering and maintaining the process of change amongst staff (see chapters six and seven).

Nevertheless, as in more orthodox ethnographic studies on multicultural and antiracist innovation (Foster,1989), I still had to make decisions concerning which events to observe, which individuals to interview and which research questions to address. In this respect there was a continual search for explanations and an on-going analysis of the qualitative data being collected. Subsequently, as the work of the team progressed so I began to formulate particular hypotheses to account for the process of change, which I then attempted to clarify and refine against further data (Glaser and Strauss,1967).

As Woods(1990) suggests "negative cases are sought for these which might perhaps invalidate the argument or suggest contrary explanations" (p.59). For example, in the case of the Swann Project, while the initial research focus was on the work of the team within the project schools, certain indicators that I had identified to account for the process of change suggested that the parameters of the evaluation needed to be widened. Subsequently, I modified the focus of the research to incorporate the management of



the project's inception and the way in which this interceded in the process of multicultural and antiracist change facilitated and initiated by the project team.

In determining the focus of the research, I also benefited from regular consultation with colleagues whom I used as academic "sounding boards" (Woods, 1990, p. 61). In this respect I was supported by three members of staff from the School of Education at the Open University: Barbara Mayor, a Course Manager; Ali Rattansi, a Lecturer in Educational Studies who specialised in "race"; and Peter Woods, Professor of Education and Director of the Centre for Sociology and Social Research. This support group held meetings on a monthly basis at which I presented research findings and the study was discussed. I found the discussion and additional academic scrutiny afforded the research through this group discussion to be particularly useful. For example, on one occasion during the formative stage of the research process I was attempting to advance the notion of social control as the grounds on which the policy development in the LEA might be understood. However, through the written presentation of this perspective and the group's reflection on it, I was able to refine and modify the argument so that it more accurately reflected the research findings (see chapter three).

In addition, over the course of the three years, I presented seminal papers on aspects of the research to both the School of Education at the Open University and annually at the St Hilda's Conference on Education and Ethnography. These peer group discussions further assisted in the formulation of the research. For example, following its presentation at St Hilda's, I was able to develop the analysis on the use of the life history method considered in chapter eight.

In commencing the research, the initial objective was to familiarise myself with the working environment. As an LEA project this included understanding the history, the present structure and functioning of the Authority, and its officers, both generally and in relation to the innovatory issue. In addition, I needed to familiarise myself with the two project schools; to get to know their history, to understand their prevailing pedagogy, curriculum and ethos, and to establish contact with the individuals involved. This was particularly important as I did not have the cultural advantage of a teaching background (see section on validity and Foster, 1988). A colloquial description of the approach at this stage is offered by Jackson (1978), which was akin to that of Yorkshire folk's advice to their children, namely "hear all, see all, say now't (p.79).

As Woods (1986) states:

This means learning their language and customs with all their nuances..They have constructed their own highly distinctive cultural realities, and if we are to understand them, we need to penetrate their boundaries and look out from the inside. The difficulty varies according to our own cultural distance from the group under study. In any event, it will mean a fairly lengthy stay among the group, first to break down the boundaries and be accepted, and second to learn the culture, much of which will be far from systematically articulated by the group. (Woods,1986,pp.4-5)

The first research task was to learn the terminology and the jargon used and to understand the principle features of the study. The objective was to feel comfortable in the environment and thereby hopefully enable staff to feel comfortable with my presence. I was aware and mindful that in undertaking an ethnographic study I was operating as the chief research instrument (Wolcott,1975). As Nisbett and Watt (1984) observe:

Ultimately the success or failure of your efforts will depend on your ability to develop good personal relations. Inevitably you will be part of the "living experience" you study and your personal skills within that social environment will be crucial, both in allowing you access to data you want and subsequently giving validity to your findings. (Nisbett and Watt,1984,p.87)

However, in contrast to previous school-based ethnographic research on multicultural education (for example, Foster,1988), I was concerned with evaluating a specific LEA project. I was therefore confronted with the additional and important task of establishing a working relationship

with a project team charged with its delivery. Initially, they were apprehensive and suspicious of my role. In an attempt to overcome this situation, I reassured team members that I shared their commitment to the issue of multicultural and antiracist education and that I was concerned with independently evaluating the process of change, not their individual performance. Subsequently, however, as the research progressed it became clear that their professional ability was to be an important factor in determining change (see chapters six and seven).

It was fortunate that the team also came to recognise this fact and it therefore did not prove dysfunctional to our relationship. Indeed, it tended to strengthen the relationship as team members believed that the LEA had failed to provide them with the appropriate in-service training, support and guidance to undertake the task. Therefore, from an early stage of the project's development the team became increasingly critical of their employers and as an independent evaluator I became someone with whom they could discuss their grievances and concerns. As a consequence of this, the team ensured that I was informed and wherever possible included in any meetings and discussions about the project. A relationship of trust developed between myself and team members who in turn became key informants (Woods, 1986) as to the process of change.

As the team were responsible for facilitating and initiating that process so the engendering of their trust and rapport was particularly important.

In gaining entry to the field, I was also aware that cases had been recorded where the research process was severely hindered by Head Teachers allowing researchers into their schools without adequately warning the staff (Hargreaves, 1967; Lewellyn, 1980; Atkinson, 1984). Similarly, in the case of the Swann Project very little preparation had been done to prepare the staff for the project team's (see chapter five) or my arrival; it was simply a matter of turning up and making my own introductions or being introduced to teachers by the team. As an unintroduced researcher entering the institution any perceived threat staff might have had from my presence (Hammersley, 1984; Woods, 1986) was fortunately restricted and undoubtedly benefited from their overriding concern with the project team. Since the teachers had not been prepared for the project's arrival, they treated it with immense apprehension and suspicion, a situation which was further exacerbated by the controversial nature of the innovative issue of racism (see chapter six). Consequently, it was equally important to ensure, in developing a rapport with the project team, that I did not become too closely associated with them as far as the teachers were concerned. In conversations, meetings and interviews with staff, I

emphasised the independent nature of my role, presenting the research and the evaluation as an opportunity for them to express their feelings about the project candidly and in confidence.

In effect, with both the teachers and the project team I attempted to cultivate an approach which was "unobtrusive without being secretive, supportive without being collusive and non-doctrinaire without being unsympathetic" (Parlett and Hamilton, 1972, p.69). I subsequently utilised three major qualitative techniques for the collection and dissemination of information: observation; interviews; and documentary and background material.

### **Observation**

The advantage of ethnographic observation is that it allows the researcher to evaluate an initiative in context (Cronbach, 1975). The time spent at each project school was divided equally and averaged approximately a day and a half per week at each school over two years. I observed and recorded the formal and informal situations within the two schools. These included day-to-day observations within the classrooms, staff room, corridors and playground, as well as attendance at morning assemblies, staff meetings, departmental meetings and parents' evenings. In particular, the research included observing the in-service sessions and working party meetings facilitated by the

project team. Observation was in a non-participatory "fly on the wall" (Woods,1986,p.36) capacity. Although non-participation may have restricted the degree to which I was able to penetrate the culture under investigation, the position guarded against "going native" (Woods,1986) and being over-identified by teachers with the project team.

To have participated in the innovatory task with the team may have affected their perception of my role as an independent evaluator and jeopardised a carefully constructed informant relationship. However, the maintenance of this position was not always easy. The life of the school continued as both the teachers and the project team undertook particular tasks while I, as a non-participant, was required simply to observe. It was therefore as if I was of no consequence in the process of change (Woods,1986).

The feelings of cultural isolation and professional impotence were compounded because as an outsider needing to develop the trust and support of staff, it was necessary to "behave with tact, discretion and decorum, and flawless recognition of proprieties at all times" (Woods,1986,p.56). In dealing with feelings of alienation and cultural pressure, the temptation was to turn to the members of the project team and their office for support and sanctuary. Consequently, on occasions I would find myself drinking

coffee with them in their office rather than undertaking the more uncomfortable task of sitting alone in the staff room, observing and trying to engage teachers in conversation. However, as the project became more an accepted part of the life of the school so I became more familiar with the culture of the schools and increasingly relaxed and confident within them. Similarly, as informal conversations and interviews with members of staff increased so I became identified in the schools as the OU's independent evaluator of the project. I found that being identified in a professional capacity was important as it lessened notions of professional impotence and through increased familiarity with teachers reduced feelings of cultural isolation.

Observations were recorded and documented in field notes (Ball,1984; Hammersley,1984; Woods,1986) which were later transferred to a research diary which was updated each evening. The areas covered in the research diary approximated to the three categories suggested by Burgess (1984) namely: a substantive account, which provided a chronological record of the events observed and informants engaged in conversation and interview; a methodological account which recorded the circumstances in which the observations had been made and the role adopted; and finally, an analytical account in which a note was made of any particular research questions the field-work had raised



and which might require future reference and discussion with informants.

The research diary took the form of record cards which were filed in chronological order. The system shadowed the process of change and at the end of the field-work, by reading the diary, I was able to recapture and revisualise the project's development. Moreover, as documentation and interviews were also filed chronologically, I was able to cross-reference material in order to compile a complete picture of a particular incident and check its validity. The disadvantage of keeping a research diary in this way is that the extraction of issue-related material involves the reading of the whole diary in order to identify and remove the salient record cards.

However, as the ethnographic method means that research questions and categories are developing and new ones emerging throughout the field-work, and several issues may be raised in any one day, it would have been extremely difficult to specify an issue-based or topic-based method of filing. In this instance, on completion of field-work, primary issues and associated sub-categories were identified and the research diary codified by alphabetically and numerically labelling the record cards. The cards could then be removed from the system for the purposes of analytical and conceptual appraisal.

## **Documentation**

As the background to the project was to be identified as a key feature affecting the process of change, the documentary aspect of the research methods was particularly important. For example, the collection and perusal of documentation were important processes in determining the way in which the project team were recruited and selected (see chapters three, four and five). Further, the documentary aspect allowed for perceptions on the project's inauguration to be validated against background papers and council minutes.

The process of change was also contextualised by the collection and examination of documentation generated by the project team in the course of their curriculum development work. This included interim reports produced for the LEA as well as in-service and classroom material.

The research also made quantitative use of questionnaires circulated by the project team to all Heads of Department in order to ascertain their curriculum development requirements. Furthermore, an appraisal of previous research findings and prescriptive recommendations on multicultural and antiracist educational innovation enabled a comparative analysis to be carried out. This assisted in the process of relating the research findings to other studies. All documents, other than secondary source

material, were filed in chronological order, according to whether they related specifically to the project schools or were of a more general nature.

### **Interviews**

Observational and documentary evidence was supplemented by an extensive interview programme. Informal discussions and formal, in-depth taped interviews were conducted at regular intervals throughout the two years with the project team, LEA officials, representatives of the CRCs and with the Head Teachers and staff at the project schools.

In terms of the teaching staff, the interview process was conducted according to three criteria. Firstly, as an evaluation of the process of change facilitated and initiated by the team was the focus of the study, all those staff whom the team identified as key personnel (see chapter six for a discussion of the team's approach) in and around the project were interviewed. In this respect the objective was to interview those members of staff who, through the work of the team, had had most contact and exposure to the project. For example, where the team had developed work in a specific department, I endeavoured to interview each member of staff within it. In addition, as the process was developmental, follow-up interviews were conducted with the same teachers over a period of time.

Secondly, as stated earlier, in the course of research as the work of the project team developed, I began to identify particular categories and formulate hypotheses which may have accounted for the process of change. As a consequence, interviews were held with other groups and individuals whom I believed may have helped to clarify, refine or falsify the analysis I was making of the on-going data (Woods,1990). For example, in order to examine the effects that occupational culture may have had on the process of change, interviews were held with staff who were totally opposed to and uninvolved in the initiative (see chapters six and seven). Similarly, as I began to hypothesise that the context and background to the project may have played an integral part in the analysis, representatives from the black community who had initially participated in the project's formulation, but had subsequently being excluded, were interviewed. Thirdly, I also interviewed any member of staff who may not have been included in the first two categories but who expressed a desire to be interviewed formally.

The formal interviews, numbering 120 and of approximately 45 minutes' duration each, were taped. All those individuals approached to be formally interviewed agreed and only one teacher refused the interview being taped. The willingness of interviewees to express their feelings about the project in-depth was possibly due to two interrelated

factors. In this case these were the development of professional trust and assurances of strict confidentiality (Woods,1986) linked to an independent evaluation of a project which addressed the controversial and contentious issue of racism and education. The teaching staff, once assured of confidentiality, were found to welcome the opportunity to air their views on both the issue and the project. This process was further enhanced by the approach of the project team which was found to increase the apprehension and suspicion amongst staff and which increased their desire to talk (see chapter six).

In conducting the interviews, an unstructured approach was adopted. The aim was to enable the interviewee to feel comfortable and relaxed enough to express her/his personal and professional views about the issue and the project, as sincerely and accurately as possible (Woods,1986). In accordance with the principle of confidentiality, interviews were conducted in private and any quotations cited within the text have been anonymised. Similarly, the LEA has not been named and the schools which participated in the project have been referred to only by their educational status, namely Grammar or Secondary.

Following each interview, I made notes on its content and context on a separate record card in the research diary. The tape was then marked with the date, the name of the

interviewee and its duration, before being presented for transcription. Transcriptions were filed chronologically according to project school or were located in a general LEA-CRC interviewee file. To assist in analysis, a system of issue-based codification was used corresponding to that used with the research diary. In this instance a notation was made in the margin of the transcript, corresponding to the comment made. Subsequently, relevant data were extracted and transferred to a word processor for analysis and writing up.

### **The Validity of the Research**

The qualitative techniques associated with ethnographic research have been criticised because the subjective nature of the research relies on the interpretation of the investigator, rather than the allegedly more scientific and objective criteria of quantitative and experimental approaches (McCormick and James, 1988). To some extent this criticism has been based on a misguided assumption that techniques associated with experimental design are not reliant upon the subjective choice of the researcher.

In effect, quantitative and experimental approaches in their choice of variables and samples, the method of data analysis and the selection and presentation of results, requires professional judgements which are vulnerable to

criticisms of subjectivity and "cannot be regarded as objective in any absolute sense" (McCormick and James,1988,p.192).

Nevertheless, the techniques associated with ethnographic evaluation do entail the possibility of impartiality and bias (Hammersley,1984). Consequently, certain methods have been established in an attempt to ensure that the research findings are valid, accurately reflecting the situation as presented. In the course of research during the Swann Project's evaluation, I used the principle of triangulation (Nuttall and Bynner,1982) to ensure that the data collected from observation, interview and documentation was cross-referenced for validity. The process not only involved sampling between qualitative methods, for example, comparing documented minutes of meetings with perceptions of those meetings obtained from interviews, but also the sampling of data from within each qualitative method, for example, interviews with probationary teachers as well as those with a "long service record".

A prime concern in ensuring the validity of the research was the notion of reactivity (McCormick and James,1988). For instance, to what degree did my presence in the project schools or the use of a research instrument, such as a tape recorder, distort the reality of the situation I was attempting to uncover and portray? In recognising the

potential of reactivity in distorting the research, I endeavoured to adopt a reflexive stance (Hammersley and Atkinson,1983). Subsequently, throughout the field study I constantly monitored and recorded in the research diary the methods and the circumstances in which data were produced and the effect I considered my presence may have had on events. Indeed, I recorded everything that I believed could possibly have biased the interpretation of events (Nuttall and Bynner,1982).

Moreover, as the project progressed and a relationship of mutual trust and respect was engendered with staff and enhanced by assurances of confidentiality, I found that my presence became less obtrusive, staff became more comfortable with my presence and any reactivity, although not totally eliminated, was minimised (Foster,1988). However, in this case the issue of reactivity concerned not only my relationship with staff but also with the project team. The situation was made additionally difficult because of my professional background in 'race' and education. In formulating and reformulating the research questions for the evaluation of the Swann Project, this prior knowledge of the field was invaluable. However, I had to be exceedingly careful in discussions with the project team to remain as non-directional as possible. The maintenance of this position was particularly difficult in the initial stages of the research as my practical experience of



addressing the issue tended to exceed that of the project team (see chapter three). Consequently, whereas three members of the team tried to tempt me into the role of consultant, another was initially defensive and reluctant to be interviewed about his practice. For example, on one occasion I was refused access to observe a Personal and Social Education (PSE) class he was teaching because as he stated "I haven't got the hang of it yet". However, as the project developed, the knowledge, understanding and confidence of the team increased and reactivity was reduced.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE BACKGROUND TO THE SWANN PROJECT

#### Introduction

In this chapter I am concerned with describing the context in which the project evolved. As Troyna and Williams (1986) observe:

The variations in, say, local demography, the political strengths and mix of local community groups and the competing ideological and commonsense understandings of race-related issues combine with an economic and bureaucratic history to produce unique patterns in approach and provision. (Troyna and Williams, 1986, p.88)

Moreover, in understanding the context within which the project evolved, an insight is provided into the framework within which the project was to initiate change. In the first section I consider in theoretical terms the development and provision of LEA multicultural policy with particular reference to the work of Young and Connelly (1981). In the remaining sections I attempt to "reconstruct the course of events locally" (Troyna, 1984, p.65) and focus on the policy and organisational developments in the Authority leading up to the commencement of the Swann Project.

In accordance with the hypothesis of Young and Connelly (1981) attention is paid to the parts played in the

project's background by three LEA officials all of whom were subsequently charged with the Swann Project's management: a Senior Education Officer (SEO) (General Services); a Senior Adviser with responsibility for multicultural education and a County Co-ordinator for multicultural education (see also Tomlinson and Coulson,1988). In addition, I examine the role of representatives from the local Community Relations Councils in formulating the Swann Project proposal and investigate their changing relationship with the project and the LEA (Rex, Troyna and Naguib,1983).

### **The Theoretical Context: The Development of LEA Policy on Multicultural and Antiracist Education**

From a selective reading of the literature, one may perceive an LEA as a place of hidden recesses (Winkley,1985) where educational visionaries (Gaine,1986) work both overtly and covertly as the prime movers in multicultural policy development (Young and Connelly,1981). For example, Young and Connelly (1981) emphasise the significance of LEA officers and advisers deemed "policy entrepreneurs" in the process of change. In a study of the policy and practice of six LEAs they conclude:

...change does not occur as the result of the operation of some "invisible hand" of organisational dynamics. It arises from activities of policy entrepreneurs who act (sometimes covertly) as advocates of change and who are prime-movers in development. (Young and Connelly,1981,p.163)

Troyna (1984) compliments Young and Connelly (1981) on their "attractive and compelling interpretation of the dynamics of policy-making at local government level"(p.204). However, whilst he recognises the research tradition within which their hypothesis rests (Gyford,1976; Jennings,1977; Friend and Jessop,1977; Brookbanks,1980), he remains highly critical of their analysis and states:

It is difficult to dispute the claim that this appraisal constitutes little more than a truism. To say that policies are formulated because certain individuals recommend their adoption is to state the obvious. What Young and Connelly have failed to do is to reconstruct the course of events both locally and nationally, which led to those individuals' "commitment to change". (Troyna,1984,p.204)

Furthermore, he believes that by focusing their attention on "policy entrepreneurs", Young and Connelly (1981) are implying that policy innovation is simply the result of committed individuals in positions of influence with a positive attitude towards change. Although Troyna (1984) acknowledges the importance of officers and advisers, he contends that their roles must be located in the political and economic framework in which they operate. He believes that attention must be given to these contextual factors before an accurate analysis of the development of LEA policy and practice can be presented. He argues that the proposition of Young and Connelly (1981) fails to contextualise adequately the nature of change at a local and national level and in particular ignores the role of the black community.

Nevertheless, Young and Connelly (1981) do investigate whether the variation in LEA multicultural provision might be entirely accounted for by the responsiveness of the different LEAs' to the local black community. They assess the development of policy as a response to an increased black presence and/or black representation of their needs and conclude that there is "no evidence of policy and provision as a need-reflective response" (p.160).

Furthermore, Arnot (1986) states:

..there is no study of the role that black pressure groups play within local authorities. We do not know how important their influence is on elected members, on shaping council policy or on redirecting, opposing or supporting policy initiatives in this area.  
(Arnot, 1986, p.42)

The relationship between the black community and the LEA on the issue of policy-making is clearly an important one which deserves further investigation. Whereas I am able to comment on this relationship in the context of the Swann Project, the overall influence of the black community on policy-making in the LEA cannot be determined.

Nevertheless, as a possible factor it should not be ignored. Indeed Troyna's (1984) primary criticism of Young and Connelly's (1981) analysis concerned their apparent failure to account for the growth in LEA multicultural policy, especially after the inner-city disturbances of 1981. Although Troyna and Williams (1986) recognise that it is difficult to specify the precise effect the 1981 disturbances had on the development of multicultural

policy, they do contend that there is a general agreement that education has a direct role to play in preventing re-occurrence. As Troyna (1984) states:

..many of these policies have been stimulated by the fear that further civil disturbances will erupt if black youth continue to feel short-changed in their schooling. (Troyna,1984,p.205)

In developing policy, LEAs might have therefore been more concerned with reacting to the possible threat to social order posed by disenchanted black youth than with responding to the needs of the local black community (Arnot,1986). However, as the threat or use of civil disobedience as a strategy to achieve a change in policy might itself be considered a legitimate black pressure group activity, the distinction between response and reaction might not be so apparent. Moreover, as Arnot (1986) recognises:

..even if policy is developed in reaction to political events, the choices available to policy-makers in one LEA may not be feasible - either politically or in practical terms - in another. (Arnot,1986,p.44)

In effect, the decision as to the nature of an LEA's reaction returns to the perspective of the "policy-entrepreneur" and the argument of Young and Connelly (1981). In gauging the influence of factors in the determination of LEA multicultural policy, the difficulty is compounded precisely because all policy decisions are ultimately taken, either individually or collectively, by

LEA officers and/or councillors. The interlocution, therefore, tends to become one of emphasis which varies according to whose interpretation of events one seeks. Furthermore, although the Young and Connelly (1981) study was undertaken before the inner-city disturbances occurred, they do acknowledge the complicated processes underlying policy formulation and conclude:

Variations in actual provision and in rates of service development actually arise from a complex and dynamic interplay of internal and external factors operating upon the dispositions, policies and practices of authorities and their departments.  
(Young and Connelly, 1981, p.162)

The external factors to which they allude may be taken to include instances such as the inner-city civil disturbances of 1981. The research of Young and Connelly (1981) may be limited in its ability to appraise adequately the myriad of local and national factors which might account for an individual's or an LEA's "commitment to change" (Troyna, 1984). However, an analysis of how that "commitment to change" is initiated in the shaping of policy and practice might be a crucial factor in determining the direction and understanding of the process of change (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988; Foster, 1989). Moreover, as the previous conceptual analysis of multicultural and antiracist education has revealed, an examination of the perspectives and approaches of these "policy entrepreneurs" might assist in the identification of those factors upon which their commitment to change was based.

## **The Social and Political Context: the LEA's Establishment of Multicultural Education**

The County in which the Swann Project was based had a population of approximately 612,900 and was situated in a predominantly rural area in the South of England. The County Council was politically controlled by the Conservatives who held 48 of the 70 seats (Municipal Year Book, 1988). The LEA maintained a selective Twelve Plus system of education with secondary provision provided by 14 Grammar and 29 Secondary Modern Schools.

In 1981 according to the Census, the County had a total black population of 4% (national average 3.8%). Consequently, the LEA qualified under Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act, which made extra financial assistance available from Central Government to LEAs who could show "substantial numbers" of "Commonwealth immigrant" children in their schools.

The County was divided into five administrative districts with almost half (46.4%) of the total black population living in the district of Wyton. The 1981 Census indicated that in the Wyton area 10% of all young people up to the age of 15 years were black. A County Council report on black youth in Wyton (Inter-Agency Working Party (IAWP) 1989) estimated that whilst unemployment in the County as a whole was only 2.2%, black youth unemployment was twice



that of white. It also found that four inner-city wards housed 75% of all the black people living in Wyton. The same areas also experienced the highest concentration of local authority housing, the highest levels of poverty and the poorest provision of social facilities (IAWP,1989). In 1988 the Home Affairs correspondent of "The Independent" wrote:

Despite the overall affluence of the town, the ethnic minorities and particularly the West Indians, still constitute the largest number of unemployed and take the lowest paid jobs. In a pattern mirrored in any deprived inner-city, the blacks and Asians are congregated on the poor council estates. But unlike an inner-city, Wyton is compact so the deprived estates are next to the new middle class developments. (The Independent,4.1.88,p.12)

In the summer of 1981 Wyton experienced civil disobedience by black youth. Further disturbances occurred in 1986 and 1987 and on New Year's Eve 1987 70 black and 30 white youths engaged in street fighting (IAWP,1989).

In terms of educational provision, the Senior Adviser for the Wyton area had joined the Authority in 1983. A substantial part (20%) of her brief was to include a county-wide responsibility for multicultural education. In addition, as the Senior Adviser she had responsibility for approximately 100 teaching establishments and the co-ordination of all advisory staff in the area. She was asked about her first impressions of multiculturalism in the LEA.

She commented:

When I first came here in 1983 there was no policy statement. There were no regular meetings. There were all sorts of things that needed to be set up. Nothing had been done, literally nothing apart from the appointment of some Section 11 posts and the creation of two Section 11 language centres.

The multicultural policy and practice of the LEA in 1983 would appear to have been similar in its approach to that of LEAs nationally, emphasising a financial reliance upon Section 11 targeted to areas of black settlement to provide English as a second language (Little and Willey, 1983). The Senior Adviser was asked why she thought the LEA had decided to allocate her a multicultural brief. She replied:

Adviser            Well, I think that the Chief Education Officer decided that he wanted someone to keep an eye on the development of multicultural issues and at that time there were only 19 of us on the advisory service so everybody in a way has to double up. So we all have a responsibility which widens our remit. I've also got an office and responsibility for Wyton and so although the brief is to give us a wider County perspective, with the majority of ethnic minorities living in this area it seems natural that they should make that my responsibility. I also had been a Head Teacher in a primary school in Leicestershire which had had a large number of ethnic minority children. So when I came up for the job of Senior Adviser the Authority said would I be interested in this remit because of my background. But even so the Authority needs prodding the whole time because they don't feel they have got a problem or they don't feel that there is an issue. Initially there was absolutely no awareness and I have been suspicious that probably I was put in to quieten outside pressures.

Researcher      So what are these outside pressures?

Adviser          (silence and long pause)

Researcher      I mean I know about the disturbances that went on, is it that sort of pressure, political pressure?

Adviser          Yes, but it's not terribly strong, it rears its head every so often. I think there was probably pressure also from the Community Relations Councils in asking for someone to have responsibility in the Authority for multicultural education.

In the opinion of the Senior Adviser, although not of equal status, the civil disobedience by black youths in Wyton, the pressure from the Community Relations Councils and the decision by the Chief Education Officer to establish the multicultural remit were all suggested as factors which might have contributed to the LEA's decision in 1983 to create such a responsibility for the Senior Adviser of the Wyton area. In making the appointment, the LEA had indicated some form of initial commitment to addressing the issue (Young and Connelly, 1981). Subsequently, the Senior Adviser was asked how specific the Authority had been about her multicultural remit. She replied:

Adviser          They just said to have responsibility for multiculturalism, there wasn't anything that said specifically what they were expecting from me.

Researcher      So how did you approach the task?

Adviser          There were 52 Section 11 teachers in Wyton, all of them white and we had a great deal of sorting of the Section 11 people, and so I started my work in Wyton because that's where I was. I could see the issues very plain and very clear and I did a survey and decided

that we needed a resource centre there, that we needed to make sure that those Section 11 were getting regular in-service. And by regular I mean every fortnight and that there was a place where they could have it and were not always dependent on somebody else giving them, us, a room.

I found a lot of misuse of Section 11. Wow! Was it rough? It was, setting up the correct use of Section 11 in schools. It was horrendous, two day meetings with Head Teachers about misuse of Section 11. Then we started pulling the whole of Section 11 out for compulsory in-service training and that was done with battle, battle, battle and we opened this resource centre in Wyton.

The initial development of multicultural provision within the LEA was concentrated on Wyton and focused on the appropriate use of Section 11, and the establishment of a centre which could be used for in-service sessions with Section 11 staff on multicultural education and for teaching English as a second language. In developing the Section 11 provision, the Senior Adviser remarked on the difficulty she experienced in getting Head Teachers to use the money allocated for use with ethnic minority children correctly. She was asked whether in approaching her remit she favoured any particular theoretical approach. She commented:

Adviser            Yes, a multicultural one.

Researcher        What are the reasons for that?

Adviser            I'd been given a job to do, and if I'd come in with lots of ideas that we could have changed things quickly, I would never have moved forward. I would have had the shutters come down and I would have been told you are not doing it. So I had to go out at the speed

this county could cope with. We had a lot of very racist teachers, we had a lot of racist people in our education committee, we had a lot of racist governors.

If I had talked about racism at that stage nobody would have listened and I wouldn't have got it past committee. If I had gone in on the aggressive side of racism especially as we are not so far away from some counties where there have been difficulties and a lot of people are very frightened. If I could get them thinking, "Well maybe there is something in that", without them feeling all the time threatened, then I feel that you know at least they might begin to have some understanding of what we were trying to do. You have to remember the political colour of this county, the political leanings that they have.

The Senior Adviser suggested that a multicultural approach was the only way she could have hoped to develop policy and practice in the LEA. She was concerned that the political control of the Authority by the Conservatives did not allow for strategies which councillors might perceive as too radical, particularly since they were aware of, and hostile to, antiracist strategies which had been attempted by neighbouring LEAs. She was, therefore, mindful to promote educational strategies which would not prove counter-productive, be negatively perceived and possibly blocked by councillors. However, whilst the Senior Adviser thought that the promotion of multiculturalism might assist the process of change, she also acknowledged that the development of policy and provision within the LEA remained a difficult task.

She remarked:

I know that you get so many times when you get your feet cut from under you that you've got to be a person that can get up and say okay that was yesterday, but tomorrow's there. And you've got to keep going because this isn't the sort of area where you'll have tremendous success, that it will go ever so easily, it just won't. If you are met by a brick wall, if you know there are some things you can't change, you can't just give up, you've got to go on. That's the system I came into and that's the system I've got to operate in as an employee.

Consequently to work in the area required a professional tenacity coupled with an understanding that success might always be limited. Young and Connelly (1981) note that the effectiveness of "policy entrepreneurs" to develop multicultural policy and practice "may be confined by how far an explicit and overt discussion of race is permitted" (p.163).

In an attempt to obtain an insight into how explicit the debate on racism was in the Authority, the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education (formerly the Co-ordinator of Section 11 in Wyton who had assisted the Senior Adviser with re-organisation) was asked to what extent the political disposition of the LEA towards racism had affected her work. She replied:

Co-ordinator    Look within this County if you say the word racism, you know they think "Brent". It's an absolute (gestures with two fingers) like that. And we can't be like Brent, it's only just down the road. Well it's a very hard

political issue this, whether you like it or not it is. And that's what's so bad about it, even anything multicultural, the very word is considered socialist, trendy-lefty, Indian. We're a solid Tory shower.

Researcher Right.

Co-ordinator Listen to that Freudian slip! (laughs)

Researcher Sorry, I missed it.

Co-ordinator A solid Tory shower, it's shire I meant. I meant shire, I like that. It's all done here in a...have you ever seen Dame Edna Everidge (putting on an Australian accent) - He says, "In Australia we're racist possums in the most caring way" - When I heard that, I thought, that's it, that's it, that's what we've got here. In this Authority were racist possums but in the most caring way.

According to both the Senior Adviser and the County Co-ordinator the political disposition of the Authority clearly set the framework and defined the debate within which any policy development was allowed to take place (Young and Connelly, 1981).

The agencies representing the black community with whom the LEA had most contact were the four area Community Relations Councils (CRC). The Community Relations Officer in charge of one of these CRCs was asked about its effectiveness as a pressure group before 1985, he remarked:

In a sense it's still the same today, if you say something with considerable persuasion and you believe that there may be some sort of injustice taking place as a result of what they are not doing, then I think you have got a fairly good chance of you achieving something with them. But if one tends to go in saying that you because you are black, you

must have that, I think then it's considered to be as if it's "looney left" if you like.

So in that respect I think it was a case of appealing for our last ten year period to the Tory Councils, not just here but in the County as a whole and bringing about small changes in the way that things are operated and the way the County Council has its policies, the Education Department, and so on.

In accordance with the views of the LEA officials, the LEA's disposition towards addressing the issue of racism meant that changes in policy and practice had been slow and on a small scale. Furthermore, the Community Relations Officer also believed that a low-key strategy was more likely to produce results. Young and Connelly (1981) suggest that although a particular LEA's disposition towards the issue of racism might be identified, it remains a difficult task to determine the limitations that such a disposition might impose upon change. Furthermore, the possible effectiveness of adopting any one particular strategy in order to initiate a change in policy is considered equally difficult whether "by stealth on one hand or by outright advocacy on the other" (ibid.p.156). In chapter six I will examine how in the case of the Swann Project's initiation and management of change, LEA officers, senior teachers, CRC representatives and the project team all favoured a strategy based on stealth rather than advocacy.



In terms of the relationship between the black community and the LEA before 1985, no formal machinery for contact with the CRCs existed. However, an informal LEA officer-only discussion group on multicultural education did exist and this was to develop later into a formal LEA-CRC consultative role. The informal officer-only group had been initiated in 1982 and was chaired by the Senior Education Officer (General Services). The present SEO (General Services) was asked about the origins of the officer-only group and his professional relationship to multicultural education. He explained:

Because I am responsible for the administrative overview of Section 11 and from a personal interest in the issue by a predecessor up till 1985 the SEO General Services chaired an in-house informal meeting. It was just an in-house group of officers that were interested, I'm going back six or seven years now, when multicultural matters and relations with the CRCs and things were ill-developed or not developed. We were only just beginning to get to grips with Section 11 and sorting that out.

In 1982, with the amendment of the Local Government Act 1966, the availability of Section 11 funding to the LEA had resulted in its administration becoming the responsibility of the SEO (General Services). At that time Section 11 provision was viewed as synonymous with the LEA's multicultural approach. Consequently, a precedent was established which linked multicultural affairs to the post. The relationship to multiculturalism was further reinforced by a previous SEO (General Services) who had

inaugurated and chaired informal officer-only meetings on multicultural education. Moreover, as the SEO (General Services) had access to the decision-making committee structure of the Authority, the post took on an executive responsibility for the presentation to committee of any matter relating to multiculturalism which needed ratification. The SEO (General Services) was asked to outline the responsibilities of his post. He stated:

SEO                    I'm responsible for all non-teaching matters of life. The multicultural things stem from that in a way. But I'm the personnel officer of the department which means everything, office, general reception, central typing services, accommodation and for all the conditions of service for non-teaching staff in all institutions whether they are manual or non-manual, school secretaries through to cleaners. I'm responsible for co-ordinating the revenue budget and I have a finance section to co-ordinate that. And I go over all the small service functions like caretaking things, school meals, supplies.

Researcher            So how do you feel about these multicultural responsibilities in relation to this other work?

SEO                    I've got a constant fight to stop me being marginalised. I would describe it as a lot of things happening in the margins of my time. It's probably very difficult to identify what my core work is you know, everything seems to be as it were competing for the margins.

I mean, I think that it's right that the multicultural side of things is handled by somebody that wants to do it and is interested to do it and has built up some experience in work with minorities.

The post of SEO (General Services) and its marginal relationship to multicultural education was encapsulated in

the view of the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education who stated:

The SEO he's got a dogsbody's job hasn't he? The last time I saw him he was going around schools having to explain something about how you tender out your cricket grounds under the local management of schools. He was in charge of school dinners, the running down of school dinners! I think he got given the multicultural executive remit when the multicultural executive remit didn't rate any higher than school dinners.

Consequently, executive responsibility for multiculturalism was delegated to a senior LEA officer whose primary job specification had only a tenuous link to the issue. Moreover, the historical process, which had determined that different facets of multicultural policy and provision should reside with the SEO (General Services) and the Senior Adviser for Wyton, had also located them in posts which had no line management relationship. As the SEO (General Services) observed:

On the issue of multiculturalism there are ambiguities and problems. I mean the Senior Adviser is not responsible to me but I have the policy and strategic role for Section 11, she and the County Co-ordinator are managing it on the ground and seeing any route through that to me is difficult for them. I mean the Chief Education Officer has had a note from me saying that one of the things we have got to do is rationalise the management structure. It's got to be one officer responsible for race relations, multicultural, Section 11, all the lot and everybody in the field comes to that one focus.

Subsequently, as the next section considers, the development of LEA policy on multicultural education and the inauguration of LEA-CRC consultative machinery would not only be instrumental in the creation of the Swann Project, but would also result in the SEO (General Services) and the Senior Adviser for multicultural education sharing a line management responsibility whilst their other professional duties remained separate.

#### **The Policy Context: The LEA's Multicultural Policy**

In regards to the Authority's *laissez-faire* attitude over the issue of racism, the publication of the Swann Report (DES,1985) was particularly fortuitous. Young and Connelly (1981) refer to the authoritative evidence stemming from White Papers as important. They state:

Its significance is not that it compels compliance, for it carries no sanctions....it serves as a riposte to the frequently encountered reluctance of local councils to consider that dimension.  
(Young and Connelly,1981,pp.163-164)

However, Young and Connelly (1981) also add that White Papers might only have a catalytic effect on the development of multicultural policy when officers and/or councillors decide to use them for that purpose. As a factor for change, reports are only as significant as individuals choose to make them.

In this case the Chief Education Officer supplied all members of the Education Committee with a booklet, produced by the Runnymede Trust, which summarised the Swann Report (DES,1985). In addition, he asked the Senior Adviser for Wyton to draft a multicultural resolution for Committee based on the recommendations of the Swann Report (DES,1985). The Senior Adviser explained:

When Swann was published the Chief Education Officer asked me if I would take it, read it and come up with some recommendations for the future and that's what I did and the recommendations were first of all that they supported the principles of Swann and that they would work within their schools to eradicate racism.

That was the first time that the word racism ever appeared in a Committee minute. So to people outside in places like Bradford and Birmingham it must sound quite funny, to us it was a great step forward, the fact that it wasn't taken out by somebody who thought that it would be far too dangerous.

The resolution on Swann drafted by the Senior Adviser was presented by the Chief Education Officer to the Education Committee in January 1986. It recommended:

- (i) the authority declares its commitment to the principles of "Education For All", to the development of a pluralist approach to the curriculum and to countering the effects of racism;
- (ii) measures be put in hand to assist schools to produce policy statements on multi-cultural education and the implementation of recommendation (i) above;
- (iii) opportunities should be provided within in-service training for head teachers to address the issues in recommendation (i);

- (iv) the authority further develop the small resources centres in Myton and Ayton to provide for the needs of teachers and pupils in bringing them into line with the highly successful centre in Wyton; and
- (v) that the role of Section 11 Co-ordinator for multi-cultural education in Wyton be extended into the role of County Co-ordinator for multi-cultural education.

Young and Connelly (1981) noted that when LEA officials were given the responsibility for drafting policy documents, they would frequently place their own particular areas of concern and interest on the agenda. In this case, the policy recommendations were related to the initial concern and focus of the Senior Adviser on Section 11 provision in Wyton. The language centres in Myton and Ayton were to become resource centres similar to that in Wyton and the Wyton Section 11 Co-ordinator was to become the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education.

In accepting these recommendations, the resolution strengthened the multicultural policy commitment of Torkshire LEA and obtained the Education Committee's approval for the extension of multicultural initiatives already operating in one part of the Authority to extend to the rest of the County. In this instance, the publication of the Swann Report afforded the opportunity and the committee recommendations provided the vehicle by which such an extension was made possible.

Furthermore, in terms of future practice, this was to establish the policy framework within which the creation of the Swann Project was to occur.

If the LEA's multicultural policy statement and resolution on Swann were to provide the policy context for the development of the project, then the organisational context was to be established with the creation of LEA-CRC consultative machinery. As Young and Connelly (1981) observe:

The key questions are how far an authority can take account of minority opinions in the community and to what extent it is prepared to create channels for the expression of those opinions. (Young and Connelly 1981,p.32)

#### **The Organisational Context: LEA-CRC Consultative Machinery**

Following repeated requests from the CRCs for formal consultative machinery with the Authority to be established, in December 1985 two community forums were created by the County Council. They were to meet twice a year and be attended by senior officers and county councillors respectively, alongside the four Community Relations Officers and chairpersons of the Community Relations Councils. They also provided the facility for two additional ethnic minority representatives to attend from each of the four CRCs. The officers' community forum met first and acted as a briefing session for the councillors'

community forum. The meetings were chaired by the Chief Executive and the Leader of the County Council respectively and functioned in a briefing and consultative capacity only. The Community Relations Officer for Ayton was asked to describe the CRC's approach to the forums. He stated:

In those forums we are sensitising the officers to our needs, we're also sensitising the County Councillors, so that officers don't have to do all the hard work in getting some approvals when the approvals are needed. They are after all the political masters who say yes or no.

The relationship between the Community Relations Officers and County Council officials was viewed as a strategic partnership in which black representatives could familiarise councillors with their needs, and at the same time assist sympathetic officers in their facilitation of political approval for multicultural provision. In addition, the CRCs also asked for increased consultation with particular Local Authority departments. In January 1986 the LEA established the Multicultural Advisory Liaison Group (MALG) which specifically dealt with education. The MALG evolved from the informal in-house officer discussion group established and chaired by the SEO (General Services). He was asked to explain the MALG's creation:

Officer                      When I came into this job on the multicultural side and I use that term to embrace everything, I was more interested in having a co-ordinated effort, seeing that we weren't just a talking shop but that things actually got done.



We weren't just talking amongst ourselves we were actually talking to community relations officers. So we changed the group. We asked for nominees for each of the CRCs and I got a group together which had representatives of area officers and colleagues here in County Hall and we began to talk about issues that affected race relations and also as we progressed on to how multicultural education was to be a matter for all our schools, that's really what the Multicultural Advisory Liaison Group that I chair is about, at about the same time we had Swann.

The MALG met monthly and consisted of officers and advisers of the Education Department and representatives from each of the CRCs. Through the MALG, the SEO (General Services) briefed the Chief Education Officer who was able to take any recommendations to the appropriate sub-committees, in particular the Schools' Sub-Committee. The establishment of the community forums and the MALG, whilst relinquishing very little decision-making power, helped to incorporate the CRCs into the structure of local government within the Authority. At one level, the potential for LEA control and influence over the CRCs increased as they became more closely integrated into the LEA's management system (Gilroy, 1987). In the case of the MALG this process was enhanced as the Community Relations Officers with a generic expertise of 'race' relations were expected to engage in dialogue on multicultural education with LEA 'specialists'. As the Community Relations Officer for Ayton believed:

If we were to be perfectly honest with ourselves as CROs we would say that we are not education specialists and to a certain

extent we must depend upon the people like the Senior Adviser and the County Co-ordinator, who have got the specialism in education and hope that they are aware and sensitive to our concerns.

Therefore, while the opportunity for increased consultation arose, representatives of the CRCs still considered themselves to be at a professional disadvantage.

Nevertheless, at another level the establishment of consultative apparatus enabled the CRCs, for the first time, to make direct representations to senior officers and councillors with decision-making authority (Higgins,1978). In addition, the LEA, having established consultative machinery, was under an implicit obligation to indicate its effectiveness. As Young and Connelly (1981) state:

The importance of consultation lies not in its form but in its substance and its consequences.  
(Young and Connelly,1981,p.32)

The CRCs were eager to use these arenas to capitalise on the recently adopted Education Committee multicultural policy recommendations on the Swann Report; in particular how they might focus a campaign in obtaining further practical initiatives on the Swann Report from the LEA. Consequently, it was to be at the inaugural meeting of the community forum with senior officers of the County Council that the idea of a Swann Project was first suggested. The Community Relations Officer for Ayton was asked how the idea originated.

He stated:

It really came about from Ayton Community Relations Council's desire to do something about the Swann Report. There were a number of things mentioned in the report and we at the CRC could not really see any way that the report was going to be implemented apart from bits and pieces just here and there, and it would have been forgotten and we would have probably brought it up at various meetings saying but Swann says this and that and more or less left it at that.

And at that time the Chairperson of Ayton CRC, who was also the Labour Chairperson of the District Council, said at the community forum for officers, "Why don't we have a kind of pilot scheme in two schools in Ayton and Wyton, to gather in the recommendations that Swann has made?"

In January 1986, following the community forum meeting, a letter was sent from the Chief Education Officer to teachers' associations, education officers, advisers and the Community Relations Officers. It stated:

The recommendations are phased in such a way as to put the onus for action on the Authority to assist governors and Head Teachers in developing their policies towards multi-cultural education. At the same time however it is very clear from the first meeting of the Community Relations Forum...that there are great expectations from the Community Relations Councils that the County Council would respond positively to the recommendations of the Swann Report..In moving towards the objectives set out above you should recognise that at this stage..there will clearly need to be a good deal of thinking and discussion in order to develop the ideas and themes of the Swann Report.

The MALG held its inaugural meeting in January 1986.

Present at that meeting were representatives from the CRCs, and officers and advisers of the LEA, including the Senior

Adviser for multicultural education. The meeting was chaired by the SEO (General Services). Item (3) on the agenda was 'Swann'. The minutes indicated that discussion centred around the Education Committee's acceptance of the Swann resolution. In effect, the first formal discussion of a project appears to have taken place in April 1986.

The minutes of the April meeting note that the possibility of a Swann Project was raised under 'Any Other Business' by the Community Relations Officer for Ayton. The minutes state:

The Swann Committee Pilot Project was discussed and general feelings of disquiet that the idea of a project was losing impetus were expressed. The logistics of putting the project into practice needed to be discussed and to this end Ayton CRC said they would invite a representative from Ealing Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) to the next meeting.

The Senior Adviser mentioned the possibility of applying for an ESG grant to support such a scheme and it was agreed that the two schools chosen be one from an 'all-white area' and a multiracial one. This was received as a positive recommendation from all members present and it was requested that after the minutes, this be the first item of the next meeting.

This initial agreement between representatives of the CRCs and the LEA was the first time that a mutual decision had been reached that a project should be undertaken and that it represented at least semi-official endorsement of the idea. Furthermore, even though these initial discussions occurred as part of 'Any Other Business', it appears that several key decisions were provisionally agreed at the

meeting, namely that the project would focus upon two schools and that one of the schools would be all-white and the other multi-ethnic.

In order to obtain a clearer understanding of the feasibility of initiating a project, the Community Relations Officer for Ayton invited a black specialist in 'race' and education from Ealing Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) to address the next meeting. In the interim, the same Community Relations Officer took the opportunity to expedite matters further and personally produced a draft paper which outlined a pilot project based on the Swann Report (DES,1985). The paper was to be presented to members of the MALG at the May 1986 meeting.

At the meeting LEA representatives, expecting to listen simply to an invited speaker and discuss the implications for a project, were presented with the draft proposal. The minutes indicate that those present reiterated their commitment to the principle of a project, although LEA representatives felt that more discussion as to the project's format was needed. Nevertheless, the minutes revealed that the meeting hoped a project might be placed in two designated secondary schools in September 1987. The meeting further agreed that the commissioning of a project for September 1987 was to be a priority for the MALG. However despite this undertaking, between May and September

1986 there was no further input from the LEA on either the possibility or the format of a Swann Project. Consequently, the Community Relations Officer for Ayton once again approached his colleague at Ealing CRE and asked whether he would assist in drafting another project proposal.

A project proposal was drafted to which the individual concerned at the CRE declined to put his name. The Swann Project proposal was therefore offered as a document written by CRCs in the local area. In September 1986, still having received no input from the LEA, the Community Relations Officer for Ayton circulated the proposal to those LEA representatives on the MALG along with a choice of dates and venues for the next meeting to discuss the project. Subsequently a meeting of the MALG was held in October 1986 and, with the exception of a few minor amendments and a reduction in length, it ratified almost verbatim the document as drafted by the individual from Ealing CRE. In terms of its development from an idea to a final draft proposal, the Swann Project was primarily conceived and formulated by black representatives of Ayton CRC and Ealing CRE.

At that time, the minutes indicate that the Chairperson of the MALG suggested that after he had presented the proposal to the Chief Education Officer and if it were to be passed by committee as an LEA initiative, then he would take line

management responsibility for the Swann Project. The meeting agreed and the line management structure for the project was taken from the LEA officer members of the MALG. In descending order of seniority this was to be the SEO (General Services), the Senior Adviser for multicultural education and the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education.

The next sections will examine how as issues relating to the creation of the Swann Project moved into the arena of practical decision-making so the close relationship between the CRCs and the project was to change as the role and influence of LEA officials gradually increased (Rex, Troyna and Naguib, 1983).

#### **The Appreciative Context: The Swann Project's Committee Stage**

Following the acceptance of the Swann Project proposal at the MALG meeting in October 1986, it then had to be considered by the Chief Education Officer before being officially presented and ratified by the Schools' Sub-Committee of the LEA. The agenda of the Schools' Sub-Committee of December 1986 contained 12 general items for discussion. The final item was the 'General Report of the Chief Education Officer'. The Chief Education Officer's report covered 32 topics. The final topic was the 'Swann Report Proposed Pilot Project'.

The proposal stated:

I have tried to keep the Sub-Committee informed of important developments since the adoption of the five point resolution following consideration of the report on "Education for All" the report of the "Swann" Committee, at the meeting of the Sub-Committee in December 1985. The attention of the Sub-Committee has been drawn to the work being done by the advisory liaison group made up of officers of the Education Department and representatives of community organisations. This group has produced a proposed pilot project to develop some of the recommendations of "Swann" in two schools preferably one in the Ayton Vale area the other in the town of Wyton.

The aim of the project is to look at the organisation and ethos of the school, its range of practices, and internal and external relationships and movement towards making a positive response to the multicultural reality of life in Britain today and the imbuing of pupils with an appreciation of the values of a pluralist democracy founded on justice and equality.

The project would wish to look at the following major areas in reviewing and developing the curriculum to meet the above aim:

- a. areas of the curriculum
- b. learning and resource materials
- c. pastoral care and careers counselling
- d. the employment, in-service training and career structure of all staff
- e. the role of ancillary staff
- f. the development of a whole-school policy on racism and racist behaviour
- g. the links between home, community and school.

The project proposal was presented at the end of a long meeting, at the end of a long agenda. The minutes of the meeting record no questions and no discussion, just a formal acceptance. As the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education explained:



On the issue of multiculturalism it is difficult to let our political masters know exactly what was going on. So the passage through committee of the project was handled very carefully, it was handled very carefully indeed, as it went through a low profile was kept. It's been handled very tactfully.

In a potentially critical and unsympathetic environment the principal objective of LEA officials was one of approval. In the case of the Chief Education Officer's presentation of the Swann Project as Birley (1970) observes:

..the greater the amount of materials in front of a committee, the simpler it is for an officer to ease through projects dear to his heart.  
(Birley, 1970, p.62)

As already indicated, until this stage in the Swann Project's development, the CRCs had been almost entirely responsible for the format, wording and promotion of the proposal. However, following the meeting of October 1986, the CRCs were never formally consulted concerning the format or the method of the project's presentation at the sub-committee stage. Furthermore, although the project was passed in December 1986, it was not until March 1987 that the CRCs were officially notified that the proposal had been successful. Indeed, the CRCs never received a copy of the sub-committee proposal and were in April 1988 still under the illusion that the proposal had been passed by the sub-committee in the form in which it had originally been drafted and accepted at the MALG in October 1986. For example, the Community Relations Officer (CRO) for Ayton was

asked whether the draft proposal in the form agreed at the MALG had been submitted to the Sub-Committee.

CRO                   As far as I know, because I haven't seen any kind of paperwork that might have gone to them.

Researcher           You don't know how it was presented to the Sub-Committee?

CRO                   No. But I assumed it was presented in that form. Once we have convinced that strata (the MALG), that these are the needs, then we more or less leave off and we hope that they have the same fervour as we have if we were able to put it to one of the committees of the Council ourselves. The Senior Education Officer did the necessary paperwork and as far as they are concerned that is where our involvement ended. As far as we knew the MALG proposal was discussed and passed by the elected members or why else would they have agreed to fund it. We were certainly led to believe by the Senior Adviser that the elected members were fully behind the project and its funding.

Of course since the project started and as officers kept saying we need to keep a low-profile and we are not ready to go back to committee yet, always present the thing (the project) in a favourable light and so on it became obvious that the members can't have been as supportive and as clear about the project as we were led to believe and this might have changed the way we viewed it.

Researcher           In what way?

CRO                   The way we saw the project going, what it was about and our understanding of it. I mean it's very difficult as I have said before for us to give advice in the best of circumstances but it's almost impossible if we don't really know or are not informed about what is really going on.

In fact, the proposal as accepted by the MALG had been severely abridged by LEA officials to facilitate its

passage through the committee stage and appeared from the minutes to have been adopted without any discussion. The CRCs, although well aware of the political necessity of approaching antiracist and multicultural issues sensitively, were nevertheless under the impression that the project had been afforded a higher profile in its acceptance by elected members than had actually been the case. Consequently, this in turn led the CRCs to conclude inaccurately that the LEA's awareness and commitment to the aims of the project were in fact greater than they actually were. In terms of any future dealings with the LEA and the project, the CRC's participation may not have been facilitated to its full potential by any such misapprehension. While the committee stage and the sensitivity of elected members towards the issue required a particular agenda strategy, it might have been possible for these factors to have been discussed and negotiated with the CRCs beforehand.

The Community Relations Officer also referred to the Authority's funding of the project as an indication of its support for the initiative. Clearly, the financial arrangements underlying an educational initiative are important as they may well provide an insight into the commitment of an LEA and elected members towards a particular issue.

As Gaine (1987) states:

..policies are all very well but they need to be backed with money to give more than just moral support to teachers and to signify that the elected members mean it when they vote for a policy.  
(Gaine,1987,p.158)

In the next section I consider the project's mainstream funding and whether it might at one level be taken as an indication of the LEA's (elected members) support for addressing the issue of racism.

### **The Financial Context: The Funding of the Swann Project**

The project as initially conceived was intended to be funded through a Department of Education and Science (DES) Educational Support Grant (ESG). In the case of the Authority, it was the Schools' Sub-Committee held in September which received recommendations from the CEO that application be made to the Secretary of State in support of bids under particular categories. The category under which it proposed to fund the Swann Project was "Education for a Multi-Ethnic Society". This category was introduced by the Secretary of State in 1986. The minutes from the MALG for April and May 1986 indicated that the LEA originally hoped to apply for an ESG in Autumn 1986 with the project to commence in September 1987. However, for administrative reasons the project could not be presented to the committee for ratification in time to secure ESG funding for the start of the project as originally intended.

In terms of the project's actual funding, the initial reference was contained at the end of the proposal submitted to the Schools' Sub-Committee of December 1986. It simply stated:

The proposal will then go forward for consideration for appropriate priority within the in-service training monies available in 1987/1988.

Having missed the deadline for an ESG submission, the proposal suggested that the project be funded as a mainstream initiative from within existing budgets. In addition, while the project was due to start in September 1987, LEA officials thought it worthwhile to submit for an ESG a year later than planned in October 1987. Although a grant would not have been available until after the project had started, an ESG available from April 1988 would have augmented any existing financial provision, and perhaps enabled an extension of the project beyond two years. The following proposal for ESG funding was presented at the Schools' Sub-Committee meeting of 8 September 1987, recommending application to the Secretary of State under category 5 "Education for a Multi-Ethnic Society":

Following the adoption of the multi-cultural policy statement, the Authority could mount a pilot project in two schools which would help to develop multi-cultural understanding throughout the County in line with the Committee's policy statement. It is therefore suggested that we apply for funding to allow the appointment of four teachers. The LEA's share of 30% of the cost, based on an overall cost of approximately £50,000, would be £15,000 the equivalent of 1.3 non-ratio posts.

It is interesting that while the recommendation to elect members states that the LEA "could mount a pilot project" in fact the Swann Project had already been advertised nationally and two appointments been made before this Sub-Committee recommendation was presented. The wording of the submission possibly questions the degree to which elected members might have been aware of the project's existence and the resolution the LEA had already endorsed on the Swann Project in December 1986.

As stated in chapter one, although the Sub-Committee accepted the proposal and authorised the CEO to apply for a grant, the application was rejected. As a consequence, in line with the December 1986 proposal and as a result of the DES's ESG rejection, it was agreed between LEA officials that the money for the project would come out of the County Adviser's existing Grant Related In-Service Training (GRIST) budget. The decision concerning the availability of funding for the project was made by LEA officials without the need of committee approval from elected members.

Indeed, the next occasion that the project was presented at committee was December 1988. The Senior Adviser when asked about this process commented, "Let's just simply say there has been some creative budgeting to make sure we got it".

The sensitive handling of the funding by LEA officials raises the question as to whether in this instance

mainstream financing can be taken to signify a commitment of elected members towards the Swann Project (Gaine,1987). I therefore raised the question of the project's financing and presentation to committee with the SEO (General Services):

Researcher        It's now November 1988, the project started in January and before that you only went to committee in September 1987 to gain approval for an ESG and before that in December 1986 for approval?

SEO                Well, I would have to consult my files but that seems about right. When and how we take it (the project) to members is up to me. As long as we've got the money which we have I can select my moment, there is absolutely no need to go to committee. I am thankful that I have not had to raise it because I think I would have been getting questions about Burnage and that might have muddled the waters. I think it's been a time to keep our heads down at the moment but I would hope to be presenting the beginnings of a success story in December. So that I can get the right sorts of questions. There is a wider political game and we could blow everything here by reading that one wrongly.

The SEO (General Services), aware of the sensitive and potentially hostile disposition of elected members towards multicultural education, states that he adopted a strategy which attempts to minimise and control the formal opportunities for elected members to comment on the project. While the initiative had been ratified by committee and was mainstream-funded, the evidence suggests these measures in themselves might not be sufficient to ascribe the notion of elected member support.

The study of Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) found that multicultural projects were more likely to be successful with the support of the education committee and elected members. In the case of the Swann Project the research has revealed how the socio-political context and the constraints this placed upon LEA officials made the acquisition of elected member support beyond a general committee ratification particularly difficult. Although understandable, the fact that elected members might not have been fully aware or committed to the idea of a project might have been an important factor in shaping the process of change. As the research reveals (see chapter four) the political sensitivity of the LEA towards multicultural education was to influence the low-key strategy suggested by officials to the project team.

In addition, at no stage were the opinions of the CRCs sought to determine what they felt would be an adequate financial package, in what ways the project might be subsequently funded or by what amount (Naguib, 1985).

Subsequently, the project team was employed on a main scale incentive B allowance. The unavailability of an ESG and the subsequent requirement to fund the project out of the existing GRIST budget placed financial restrictions upon the project's resourcing.



For example, although the project started in January 1988, with the exception of salaries, no additional project money was made available until April 1988. The Senior Adviser was asked why this situation had arisen. She replied:

I didn't get their money until we got to the end of the financial year. I did say to them at the back end of January you can spend £100 each if you wish of my money from another budget, but they were so slow. If I don't get the bills through well into February, I lose the money and I heard nothing from them and so I gave the money to somebody else and suddenly at the end of March they started saying they wanted this, this and this, and I had to say to them, well now you've got to wait.

The fact that no money was available to the team when the project started was also commented on by the County Co-ordinator. She stated:

I found it very awkward that we didn't have funding for them when they arrived. I thought that was like setting somebody off then pulling the carpet from under their feet. I was very sad about that, inside I mean, I kept up a kind of front but I was.

In April the project team were to receive £1,000 with £500 allocated per school to resource the curriculum development initiatives of four full-time project teachers for one year. In addition each of the project schools made a further voluntary contribution of £500 a year.

## **Conclusion**

Multicultural policy and provision in the LEA at the time of the project's creation was itself at an embryonic stage of development. The genesis of the project therefore occurred at virtually the same time as the LEA was endorsing its first multicultural policy and only just establishing consultative machinery with the CRCs. The professional expertise of multicultural practice which might have assisted LEA officials in the facilitation of the project's inception might therefore be considered limited.

Nevertheless, the delivery by LEA "policy entrepreneurs" (Young and Connelly, 1981) of a multicultural statement on the Swann Report (DES, 1985) played a significant part in creating a policy context within which the idea for a project could germinate. The subsequent establishment of the community forums and the Multicultural Advisory Liaison Group were to provide the organisational arenas within which the project's development could flourish.

Both LEA officials and representatives of the CRCs were aware of the politically sensitive disposition of the LEA towards addressing the issue of racism. In turn this shaped their approach to multicultural education in general and the project in particular; a clear example of which was

supplied by the way LEA officials secured committee approval and mainstream funding for the project.

In subsequent chapters I will examine the ways in which a similar low-key approach was also to be favoured by senior teachers, thereby influencing strategy adopted by the project team in terms of facilitating and initiating change. I revealed how, in drafting the project proposal, the commitment and input from representatives of the Community Relations Councils were found to be particularly significant.

However, once the project reached the committee stage, consultation with the CRCs ceased and it became the sole responsibility of particular LEA officials, namely the Senior Education Officer (General Services), the Senior Adviser and the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education. The question of the CRC's marginalisation and the LEA's management of the project's inception is examined further in the next chapter on the recruitment and selection of the project team.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF THE PROJECT TEAM

#### Introduction

The Swann Project was to be undertaken by a team of four teachers specifically appointed to initiate the process of change in two project schools. An important factor in determining the ability of the team to achieve the aims of the project related to the team members themselves, the knowledge and experience they possessed and the strategies they adopted. As research on team building by Woodcock (1979) considers:

..so often the root of an organisation's "people problems" lies simply in the wrong people being selected. Either they have the wrong skills or the wrong personality. Sometimes those who carry out the selection lack the required skills, sometimes they are the wrong people to be making the selection and sometimes the organisation is unclear about the kind of people it really requires..policies and procedures are unclear. (Woodcock,1979,p.16)

According to Woodcock (1979) while part of the problem may reside in the skills and personality of the individual team members, it is poor selection and recruitment procedures that are primarily responsible for the appointment of individuals who are never able to operate as a team. In the case of the Swann Project, it was the LEA which was responsible for recruiting and selecting those teachers it assigned to the innovatory task. The procedures the LEA

adopted were therefore an important managerial task which pertained to the future development of the project and consequently the process of change (Woodcock,1979).

In examining the recruitment process and highlighting particular facets of these procedures, the intention is to explore aspects of the curriculum development process often precluded from previous investigations (Tomlinson and Coulson,1988). In the previous chapter I highlighted the socio-political context and constraints within which LEA multicultural officials had to work. In providing a critique of the selection process, the intention is not to detract from the significance of these constraints rather to pinpoint additional factors which might be salient to understanding the process of change. Subsequently I also consider how LEA officials perceived their managerial responsibilities both in relation to the guidance offered the project team and the involvement of the CRCs (Naguib,1985; Tomlinson and Coulson,1988).

### **The Initial Recruitment Procedures**

To clarify the proposed staffing and recruitment philosophy for the project, it is necessary to refer to the original unabridged proposal drafted in October 1986 by the MALG.

The issue was addressed in a section on the structure and organisation of the project which stated:

...to be staffed by a complement of at least two teachers in each school..The Swann Report stresses the advantage of using teachers as "agents of change" who would need to have substantial experience in the area of multicultural education and be of sufficiently senior status if they are to carry the school with them and make the recommendations tell. Ideally one would envisage them to have achieved departmental head seniority.

The MALG proposal in line with the recommendation of the Swann Report (DES,1985) identified two principle criteria for selection, namely that individuals should have "substantial experience" of the curriculum development issue and middle-management professional status. Although referred to as "agents of change", nothing was included in the proposal to indicate how the MALG envisaged these four teachers were to operate. The formal idea of a team strategy first surfaces in documentation when the positions were advertised in June 1987. The advertisement stated:

#### Swann Pilot Project

#### Secondary Curriculum Development Team

Required in September 1987 or as soon as possible thereafter four teachers working in two secondary schools to assist in developing the curriculum to reflect a pluralist society. This is an exciting new project and we are looking for teachers with a high level of commitment to "Education for All".

Appointments will be at Scale 3 or Scale 2 equivalent. Secondment of teachers from within the Authority will be considered.

The County Council is an Equal Opportunities Employer.

The advertisement referred to commitment, but made no reference to "substantial experience of multicultural education", nor from the proposed salary scales did it necessarily imply that the LEA was primarily looking for candidates with head of department status. Clearly, there was some discrepancy between the context of the advertisement and the requirements stipulated in the original MALG proposal.

The selection process was further influenced by the decision to restrict the advertising of the posts to the TES and the Authority's own internal circulation; the advertisement was not placed in the black press. The Commission for Racial Equality's code of practice for the elimination of racial discrimination and the promotion of equal opportunity in employment (CRE,1983) recommends:

..employers should not confine advertisements unjustifiably to those areas or publications which would exclude or disproportionately reduce the numbers of applicants of a particular racial group.  
(CRE,1983,p.9)

In this instance, the placing of the advertisement was the responsibility of the SEO (General Services). He was asked whether on reflection he was satisfied with this advertising procedure. He remarked:

We are forever looking at how we recruit and how you can publicise in both the LEA and nationally. I don't think we consciously,

going back over the ground, could have got more applicants or done it better. I don't think that there was anyone else that we were aware about.

Whilst institutions might be under financial restrictions as to the number of advertisements they can place, this was not offered as an explanation. The SEO (General Services) satisfied with the procedure made the assumption that because he was personally unaware of any more suitable candidates the advertising process was satisfactory. It is impossible to say whether the number and range of applicants would have been different had the advertisements been placed in the black press. However, by restricting the location of the advertisements, the possibility of racial discrimination in the process of recruitment might have increased (CRE,1983).

The effect the release of the advertisement had on the number of applicants also needs to be considered. Traditionally the majority of teaching vacancies are advertised around Easter, enabling an adequate period of notice to be served and teaching staff to commence the new appointment at the beginning of the school year in September. Consequently, in the case of the Swann Project by advertising at the end of June 1987 for teachers to start in September, the potential number of teachers who might have ordinarily applied may have been reduced. LEA officials were aware of this situation and it was always



their intention that the project advertisements would be placed earlier, but due to an administrative oversight this was not achieved. As the County Co-ordinator remarked:

There was to put it very diplomatically an administrative cock-up when the adverts went out. So they went out later than they should have done.

Those individuals who responded to the advertised posts received a copy of the job description and a brief description of the project schools (see chapter five). Under the heading "main duties of the post" the aims of the project as presented in the previous chapter were included along with the following statement:

The duties of the post may vary from time to time without changing the general character of the duties or the level of responsibility entailed.

In this respect no consideration was given to the team's modus operandi. Indeed, applicants were never specifically informed of what those duties were nor the manner in which they were supposed to be carried out.

Woodcock (1979) suggests that the intention to establish a team approach is something that one needs to incorporate into the recruitment and selection procedures. He includes, for example, the information made available within the job description which might have included some further consideration of the nature of the work, the role of the worker, the requirements of the post, the methods of

approach, the phasing of the work, the support services available and the personnel requirements (Woodcock,1979).

The content of the job description was important since it may have been the primary source of information on which applicants made their decision to apply, thereby determining the number and quality of applicants shortlisted by the Authority. The precise number of applicants received by the LEA for the Swann Project was difficult to verify. This information was not made available and verbal reports varied from the Senior Adviser who claimed there had been "a lot of applicants" to the SEO (General Services) who stated "I think we only had six". Clearly, if there were a lot of applicants, the short-listing procedure adopted was to be an even more crucial part in the recruitment process.

In regards to the recruitment process in general and the short-listing procedures in particular, the County Council did have its own equal opportunities code of practice. However, at that time it did not apply to the selection of teachers.

As the SEO (General Services) explained:

SEO	There is a clear policy statement but at the moment the code of practice only applies to the recruitment and selection of chief officers, deputies, administrative, clerical and manual staff. I am still having
-----	--

discussions with the teachers' unions, the lecturers' unions and youth service unions to adopt a code and until and unless that comes in we can follow the equal opps., you know, in the spirit but there is no letter to follow.

Researcher      So as the person who is responsible for the recruitment and selection of staff could you operate recommendations from this or would you hit problems with the unions?

SEO                No, I wouldn't envisage any problems in us following the recommendations, all I am suggesting is that in terms of a code of practice we at that stage, as we have now, hadn't got their formal approval. I mean we followed the spirit of the thing.

Researcher      So at that time did you follow the procedures as laid down in the code of practice for all other admin, clerical and technical appointments?

SEO                Yes, in those cases other than the appointments where we still followed the spirit, those are the procedures we adopt in making appointments.

In regards to short-listing procedures, the County Council's code of practice stated:

A personnel specification should be prepared for all permanent posts. Its aim will be to identify the qualifications, experience, personal qualities and other attributes required to carry out the duties and responsibilities of the post..Short-listing should be carried out by not less than two persons. It must be based only on the information contained in the application form related to the job description, the personnel specification plus any references which are available. These criteria must be consistently applied to all candidates.

In the case of the recruitment of the project team, no personnel specification was completed. Technically this may not have been a breach of the code of practice as the project appointments were not covered by the code of

practice. Nevertheless, if as the SEO (General Services) suggested, they appointed "in the spirit" of the code, one might have expected the LEA to have adhered to a procedure which related directly to combatting racial discrimination in employment and the task specification of the project for which they were short-listing.

In addition, whilst neither the code of practice of the Commission for Racial Equality (1983) nor that of the Authority recommend black representation and/or equal opportunities personnel on short-listing panels, several LEAs, for example Leeds City Council, have adopted this procedure as good practice. It might have been a possibility, therefore, to have included a representative of the CRCs on the short-listing panel. In the next section I consider the involvement of the CRCs in the decision-making process.

### **The Involvement of the Community Relation Councils**

Following the MALG meeting in October 1986, the CRCs were not involved in any decisions concerning the project until the interviews for the posts in September 1987. In May 1987 the project was discussed at the MALG. At this meeting the CRCs were informed that the Senior Adviser for multicultural education, the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education and the SEO (General Services) had discussed the establishment of the Swann Project. The CRCs

were informed that the LEA had decided to advertise for four teachers and that the posts would be open to secondment, and two teachers would be placed in each of the two schools. Clearly, the decisions concerning the level of staffing, advertising the posts and their numerical allocation to schools had all been taken without any consultation with the CRCs. The research of Young and Connelly (1981) similarly discovered that frequently the CRCs:

..contribution to local policy is reduced to one of commenting post hoc on proposals which are already being mooted, or indeed, have already been discussed and agreed. (Young and Connelly,1981,p.33)

In response to the reduced involvement of the CRCs in decisions concerning the project, the Community Relations Officer for Ayton wrote a letter to the Senior Adviser for multicultural education. The letter was in reply to correspondence which informed him that advertisements for the project team had been placed. He wrote:

Dear Norma

Thank you for your letter. Thank you also for your faith in me that I have my "fingers on the pulse". I have to confess that I haven't seen the advertisement. I would appreciate a copy if you have one. However, I have a small reservation in that whilst the Community Relations Councils are kept informed, there is not a greater participation. We, of course, in our effort to get the Swann Project approved have not formally agreed as to how we are going to contribute in the whole process as it moves forward in its two year life span. I feel it would be important to clarify this and to reach an agreement. I would appreciate your reaction to the above.

Yours sincerely  
Bimal

The Community Relations Officer for Ayton, following the considerable work he and his colleagues had carried out both in persuading the LEA to initiate a project and in drafting the proposal, was concerned about the CRC's lack of involvement. Moreover, they believed that the LEA, having taken over managerial responsibility, was only allowing them to comment post hoc on decisions already made. The letter was therefore a polite way of informing the Senior Adviser of their dissatisfaction and suggesting that their marginal relationship might be improved. As the Community Relations Officer remarked:

Obviously we were unhappy with the situation but as I said to you before, they are the people we have to trust to persuade their political masters to change. We can't or we don't want to upset them too much as we need them so that is why I put the letter in the way I did, but we weren't happy, no.

A week later he received the following reply from the Senior Adviser.

Dear Bimal

Thank you for your letter. What kind of participation have you in mind?

Yours sincerely  
Norma

PS (Hand written across the top left corner of the letter). Sorry this is so abrupt it's not meant to be.

The Senior Adviser was asked why the CRCs had not been more closely involved in the advertising and short-listing process.

She replied:

Because we felt that they were the sort of decisions that we should be taking, also time, you know you can't always organise meetings to take every decision that might only be minor and yet organising meetings would take so much time and so on. In short-listing we had so few applicants it wasn't really necessary or worthwhile involving them.

Arguably, whatever the number of applicants being short-listed, selection decisions were taken by an all-white panel without any involvement or prior consultation with the black community.

The consultative machinery, such as the MALG, established to improve links between the LEA and the black community through the CRCs may have been a move towards dismantling institutional racism within the Authority. However, once LEA officials transferred decision-making on the project out of that group, back into existing internal LEA structures, the likelihood of institutional racism may have been increased (Naguib,1985). The LEA's resolution on the Swann Report (DES,1985) upon which the project was based refers to institutional racism as:

..a range of long established systems, practices and procedures which have the effect, if not the intention, of depriving ethnic minority groups of equality of opportunity and access to society's resources. Institutional racism operates through the normal workings of the system rather than the conscious intent of the prejudiced individual.

In terms of their working relationship with the CRCs, a degree of increased LEA responsibility was indeed inevitable since the project was to be administered and funded by the LEA. However, this did not necessitate a dissolution of the collaborative relationship between the CRCs and LEA which had existed on the formulation of the project. Nevertheless, as issues concerning the project moved into the arena of practical decision-making so the role and influence of the LEA gradually increased and that of the CRCs, and in effect the black community, diminished and became marginalised.

A similar situation was documented in the findings of the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations (CRES) research programme "Education and Ethnicity". It found that whilst black groups might act as a catalyst for the inception of an LEA's multicultural provision, LEAs committed to multiculturalism failed to recognise the importance of maintaining the involvement of the black community, excluding them from the process of implementation (Rex, Troyna and Naguib, 1983). However, in the case of the Swann Project following the Community Relations Officer's letter to the LEA, he was invited to be involved in the interviewing of candidates.



## **The Interviews**

The interviews for the posts were chaired by the SEO (General Services) and included the Senior Adviser for multicultural education, the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education, the Community Relations Officer for Ayton and the Head Teachers from the two schools involved in the project. The SEO (General Services) was asked what form the interviews had taken. He said:

SEO                    We were inventing if you like as well as recruiting in the normal way, the interviews took a slightly different form. We spent some time, in a sense negotiating the terms. Particularly the schools saying what they expected, I mean that was a deliberate strategy to elicit the public commitment of the two Head Teachers. At that stage we weren't clear how enthusiastic they were about the project. I mean what happened in effect is that we briefed the heads, other members of the interview panel and the candidates together. What we did was we sat everybody in the room and said look, this is what we think we're about but there's everything to play for. It's totally new ground for us, we know what curriculum development is but we don't know what curriculum development that challenges people's prejudices etc is..it's totally new to us. So all that happened before anybody went into the formal interview process.

Researcher           Are you saying that you hadn't ascertained the enthusiasm of the Head Teachers for the project until the day of the interviews?

SEO                    Yes, we did that in front of the candidates.

In making the transition from LEA policy to school-based practice, other related studies have identified the support of the Head Teacher as crucial (Foster,1989; Grugeon and Woods,1990).

In the case of the Swann Project, the SEO (General Services) suggested that the support of the Head Teachers in whose schools the team were to be placed had not been elicited prior to their participation in the interviews for the team. Subsequently, when the Head Teacher at the Grammar School was asked about his involvement in the recruitment and selection procedures. He commented:

I felt as though we groped towards a system. I don't think there was a vision about the project. It did mean that my position as one of the interviewers of the staff was, to say the least, a difficult one. Arriving at the interviews without any previous knowledge of the candidates, without having any clear criteria for the appointments discussed with me, without to be perfectly honest any specific notion of how I was going to use the appointed people in the school, indeed who they were answerable to in the last analysis.

The perspective of the Head Teacher from the Grammar school verifies that consultation with the LEA as to the operation of the project in general and the selection procedures in particular was up to the interview stage minimal (see chapter five).

In the case of the Secondary School, the Head Teacher had been appointed in September 1987. At interview for the Head Teachership he had been asked about his views on multicultural education. Although the interview panel had included the Senior Adviser associated with the Swann Project, no mention was made of the fact that the school for which the candidate was being considered had been

selected for an LEA multicultural initiative. The Head Teacher was asked when and how he first became aware of the Swann Project. He stated:

I got a 'phone call at home on the Monday evening of the week the team were due to be interviewed, the voice (SEO, General Services) said, "Oh we are interviewing for the project soon, we think you should be involved" and I said, "Fine, what project are you talking about?" They were interviewing on the Thursday in County Hall, was I free to come down to interview the applicants? I said, "Yes sure but I need briefing about the project".

The voice said, "Right get here early and I will brief you". I got to County Hall early and he was trapped in a meeting, so in fact I was taken in to meet the candidates, given the same briefing on the project as the candidates and then I interviewed them for the job. I found myself in the ridiculous position of having to reassure them about the school's commitment to the project only having heard about it the same time as they did. So that was my first involvement with the project and so it was something I almost caught up with backwards frankly.

One year into the project the Head Teachers jointly wrote a formal letter of complaint to the Chief Education Officer about the LEA's inappropriate management of the project. Although the letter was not made available for reproduction, I was permitted to read its contents. In the letter they made specific reference to the overall managerial inadequacy of the recruitment and selection procedures, offering them as an example of what they termed the LEA's 'insouciant' approach.

In particular, they referred to how they had been invited to participate in the selection process without it being made clear to them how the LEA expected the project to work in their schools, or indeed who it was answerable to in terms of line management. Moreover, it referred to the fact that without prior discussion they were 'somehow' expected to interview candidates and establish criteria for their selection.

The County Council's equal opportunities code of practice in reference to interview procedure states:

A form shall be completed by the interviewing panel to record their assessment of each candidate interviewed. This shall include comments on the extent to which the candidate meets or fails the personnel specification in respect of:

- i. qualifications
- ii. experience and
- iii. all other appropriate skills and ability.

The record must contain reasons for the selection or rejection of each candidate. The form shall be retained with the interview documents for a period of not less than twelve months.

For the recruitment of the project team, members of the interview panel did not complete a record of assessment for each candidate. Furthermore, the procedure centres around the utilisation of the personnel specification, which in this case also did not exist. The interview panel therefore had to rely upon their own implicit selection criteria. In this respect the SEO (General Services) and the Senior

Adviser expressed several criteria they considered important to the staffing of the project. They believed that candidates should share the Authority's commitment to multicultural education, be competent teachers with experience in curriculum development and possess inter-personal skills which might help facilitate attitudinal change. Whilst they said the LEA was not affirmative in the choice of either black or white staff, they hoped that the appointees would have a range of subject specialisms.

However, as no formal briefing on the project had been afforded to the Head Teachers, they were at a disadvantage in establishing similar, albeit implicit, selection criteria in relation to the Swann Project. They subsequently stated that they had "simply" supported the appointment of individuals whom they considered would "best fit into" their schools. In this respect there was an implicit consensus amongst all the interviewing panel. As the Senior Adviser stated:

It was very important that the Heads felt quite happy with them, very important, I mean towards the end, after we had taken everything into consideration, we said to the Head Teachers. "Who do you feel would go down all right and work well within your schools?"

Clearly, the fact that the team would be placed in two schools for two years meant that the opinions of the Head Teachers regarding the appointments were crucial. Indeed,

it is inconceivable that the project could have operated in the two schools without the agreement of the Head Teachers (Grugeon and Woods,1990). Therefore, as a possible consequence of the recruitment process favoured by the LEA, the two members of the interview panel who were least informed about the project, namely the Head Teachers, had the greatest influence over the final selection decision. Moreover, as they had not been briefed and in the absence of a personnel specification or any record of assessment for the candidates, there was no formal mechanism for ensuring that the selection criteria perceived by the Head Teachers as the most appropriate for their schools conformed with criteria which was the most appropriate for the project (see chapter five and chapter six, part three). The SEO (General Services) was asked why the LEA had decided not to discuss the project with the Head Teachers before the interviews. He remarked:

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| SEO        | Because we hadn't got anything, any line or approach mapped out.  |
| Researcher | Do you mean approach to the interviews or approach to the overall project?  |
| SEO        | Both. We felt that it was important even at that stage that the thing was a learning and a developmental process which if we demonstrated that from the outset, that everybody was going to have some equal share in the ownership and partnership it would be both a novel way and a helpful way to do it. So that was as it were, why there wasn't much paper apart from a few statements that went out to aspiring candidates about the project. |

The account offered by the SEO (General Services) implied that because the project was ostensibly a pilot they had not planned or 'mapped out' any particular approach. It was therefore difficult for them to brief anyone about it. Instead, they hoped to use the interview process as a forum at which such ideas might be first presented. This also accounted for why no guidelines on how the project was to be initiated had been included in either the project proposals or the job description.

In order to verify this point further, the Senior Adviser was asked about the degree of consideration the LEA had given as to how the project might approach the issue of curriculum development. She replied:

Adviser            We were at one disadvantage in that it was so new as a pilot that you couldn't really say that you wanted people to have certain approaches because those experiences just aren't around and we hoped they would develop.

Researcher        When you say develop, I mean are you saying that you didn't have specific guidelines or approaches which you thought the team might adopt?

Adviser            It was so new we hadn't really..we hoped the team would develop its own strategy what they found most suited their approach that they would identify their own strengths and weaknesses and work to those as it went on.

Since the project was a new initiative and because multicultural provision within the LEA was at an early stage of development, it was hoped the team might evolve a

curriculum development strategy in the field. There was therefore particular onus placed upon the ability of the team to plan and initiate change; this related to the professional qualities of individuals appointed, thus placing further emphasis on the LEA's recruitment processes (Woodcock, 1979). Consequently, one might have expected the interviews to have reflected this fact by probing prospective team members on how they might approach the task. However, as team members Heather, Carol and Hugh explained:

- Heather            The interview was absolutely farcical. They didn't know what our job was going to be. I mean there were three of us there that day and we talked about it afterwards for each of us they had changed the approach. It was ridiculous, they were changing the brief as they were interviewing us. So they didn't ask us anything searching, anything about our kind of educational perspective and say to you, "How are you going to approach this as teachers?" I was appalled at that. I thought that they would have some idea of what they were expecting from us and I was actually quite surprised that they didn't.
- Carol             I think the selection process led inevitably to people having diverse perceptions of what the project was about. I think had the terms of the job, the parameters of the job, been clearly defined from the beginning you would have had team members with expectations along similar lines.
- Hugh              Yes, I agree with you. I don't think I had a clear goal of exactly what I was going to do because the parameters of the job were so wide. I think it was up to them, if they wanted people who were staunch antiracists or multiculturalists to come in, they should have built that into their selection criteria. As it was none of us knew what they wanted or what we wanted.



The lack of continuity and precision in the LEA's presentation of the project's role resulted in the interviewees holding unclear perspectives as to the task specification. Similarly, as questions did not relate to the nature of the task, so it might have been particularly difficult for officials to determine the degree of understanding and perspective of candidates on how they might address the issue of racism. In addition, the absence of any clear personnel specification and interviewing record form made it difficult to ensure that candidates were given the same interviews. As the County Co-ordinator recognised:

Some sold themselves very well at the interview. So I would be fair, I think, in saying that we assumed some were a bit further along the road in their thinking than we later discovered they were. Interviews are not very..(pause)..some people are very good at being interviewed.

The fact that individual abilities might vary in interview situations was a further possible reason for ensuring that the process was consistent for all candidates. Moreover, any failure to do so might have been contrary to the principles of equality of opportunity (CRE,1983).

### **The Appointments**

Following the June advertisement, two candidates were appointed. Both worked for the LEA. They were: Rafique, who had previously been Head of Chemistry at a school in

Leicestershire and was now a Section 11 Home School Liaison officer in Wyton; and Heather, who was a main scale English teacher at the Grammar School where two of the project team were to be located. The two remaining posts were re-advertised in September 1987 and two more candidates were appointed: Hugh, who was Head of Biology from a school in Brent and Carol, who was a former main scale Personal and Social Policy teacher working as a tax inspector in the Authority.

The SEO (General Services) was asked about the appointments. He remarked:

I'd rather think you'd have to be honest and say that all four were virtually self-selecting. One at least was totally unsuited. I'll give you an example, we had this woman that had been involved with an adolescent girls' unit in Liverpool, and had run this thing called "Young Unmarried Mothers". I suspect her motive was just getting a job in this area and she was valiantly trying to rally arguments which said that the sort of skills needed in the politics involved in Liverpool were the same as the project. Needless to say we didn't appoint her.

Even so when we appointed the final two we took the unusual step of recruiting one person who wasn't in teaching at that time (Carol). But we recognised that in the four we now had, we had got quality in those four.

Carol, the team member concerned, had revealed that she had originally applied for the job after the first advertisement in June but had not been short-listed. However, on seeing the posts re-advertised, she wrote a

letter to the Authority stating that she was still interested and asking for her application to be re-considered. In the knowledge of these events, I asked the SEO (General Services) in what ways the calibre of the appointees made them self-selecting, if Carol had been rejected the first time round. He replied:

Officer            She wasn't interviewed the first time round, was she? She might have applied but she wasn't seen and therefore, there is no question of her being rejected the first time having not been seen.

Researcher        But in terms of your selection process that means that she didn't even get short-listed the first time and the second time she gets appointed. So what led you to that re-evaluation? What made you not even call her for interview and then end up appointing her?

Officer            Yes, yes, yeh (pause)..I mean, we've done so many appointments since then, that's me relying on memory certainly she wasn't seen the first time, I I..I'll have to go back refer you back to the papers.

Despite several further requests and assurances, no papers relating to the selection and recruitment procedure were made available. Clearly, recruitment and selection procedures are not infallible and the inability to interview Carol after the first advertisement may well have been the result of a genuine oversight. However, in relation to the appointment of the project team, the LEA's lack of any formal recruitment and selection procedures quite possibly increased the likelihood of such a situation occurring. The County Co-ordinator for multicultural

education expressed her own dissatisfaction with the selection procedure and the calibre of candidates following the re-advertisement. She stated:

I feel that we rushed it on the second interview. I would like to have done another set of interviews but logistically the funding started in January. The people we appointed were a little disappointing and I think that slowed the project down a little bit because if we could have started with them all at the same stage of awareness as Rafique, we'd be that much further on now.

Despite the financial necessity to start the project in January 1988, if the calibre of candidates was not considered satisfactory then the reduced staffing of the project might have been one possibility.

In contrast to the criteria specified in the MALG proposal, the recruitment and selection procedure resulted in the appointment of four teachers of differing professional status and varying degrees of experience of multicultural education. As Rafique and Heather recognised:

Heather            We had two people on the team who hadn't done any kind of in-service on any aspect of multicultural education and both Carol and Hugh felt terribly at sea. I mean even though we had Rafique as a black team member he had only just begun Section 11 work in the field and I'd only been on one multicultural in-service.

Rafique           None of us possessed the sort of experience necessary, the degree of expertise to know what you are and should be doing to take on board this sort of initiative. We came by that the long and hard way round.

Subsequently, all the members of the team were discovered to feel in some respects that they were ill-equipped in terms of experience at the time of their recruitment to operate as a member of a team on multicultural education. In failing to provide specific guidance as to the ways in which the team might approach the curriculum development task, the onus fell to a team whose members possessed little experience in initiating multicultural education. The process of developing a team approach might have been further restricted as those individuals appointed held divergent political viewpoints. For example, Hugh at the time of his appointment was a member of the Conservative Party; he had specifically moved to the LEA as he said "in order to place the children in an Authority which had selective education". He was asked about his perspective on multicultural and antiracist education when he first took up the post. He replied:

Well I didn't have one to be honest. It has been a very difficult professional process to go through, very difficult. Coming in and not knowing anything about what has been identified by Carol as what the project is about. You know, this multicultural antiracist stuff and thinking to myself, "Bloody hell what have I let myself in for, what is it all about?" So being very naive and picking it up has been a learning process to be honest. I have to continually ask myself, "Is this what I believe in, is this what it is all about, do I want to change structures?" I suppose being a Conservative it goes against all the principles of what I think is right.

In contrast, his colleague at the Secondary School, Carol described her perspective in the following terms:

I don't like labels but I suppose you could say I was a supporter of the Labour Party, well I vote Labour but I don't think they are radical enough or do enough for women, I suppose if anything I would describe myself as a left-wing feminist. At first I was unsure of what I thought in terms of the project but now (three months into the project) I've totally rejected multiculturalism and would consider myself an antiracist, an antiracist feminist I suppose if you are pushing me for a label.

In terms of the team allocated to the Grammar School, Rafique, although supportive of antiracism, was non-committal in terms of his political affiliations. However, his colleague, Heather, was a local District Councillor for the Liberal Democrats. Subsequently, three months into the project, on being asked why she believed the team lacked cohesion, she replied:

Trust, I think that is it in one word. People (Carol) have thought that I haven't taken an antiracist perspective and that has been made abundantly clear to me. It is because politically I am known as a Liberal Democrat and people therefore think I am wishy-washy, but a lot of Liberals are fairly left. I found that personally very hurtful, because my own philosophies have been questioned.

Clearly, political affiliations are not normally scrutinised or even revealed at interview and the relationship between party politics and support for multicultural and/or antiracist initiatives is not clear-cut and immutable. Nevertheless, in recruiting a team

to undertake curriculum development on an issue as politically controversial, contentious and emotive as racism, the ascertainment of at least general perspectives towards the issue might provide some indication, as in this case, of possible future difficulties in achieving a team consensus and approach (see chapters six and seven). In order for team members to have the opportunity to share their perspectives on racism and to discuss how they might approach the innovatory task, the LEA allocated the first fortnight to an induction programme.

### **The Induction Programme**

Originally, the LEA intended not to have an induction period but to place the team immediately into the two schools with the two teachers from each school meeting together to discuss their team approach twice a term. The decision to offer an induction programme was taken after the first two appointments to the team had been made. As the SEO (General Services) explained:

Until that stage we hadn't gone as far as thinking about an induction programme then after we appointed Rafique I think it was, he approached the County Co-ordinator and suggested it might be a good idea to have some sort of induction. At first I was opposed to the idea as I was keen for the team to be seen in the schools as soon as possible but with some persuasion from my colleagues I agreed to the idea of the team having a fortnight's induction.

Subsequently, as Rafique explained:

After the County Co-ordinator had been given approval to follow up my idea about the team having some sort of induction she asked if I would plan the programme which I did.

The programme was compiled by Rafique, in his spare time, prior to the project's commencement. It consisted of one visit to each of the project schools and a visit to an ESG project in Birmingham. The remainder of the time was allocated for team members to discuss and plan their initial strategy. As I did not come into post until the end of the induction period, I was unable to attend most of these sessions. However, at the end of the fortnight all of the team members expressed concern over the lack of input and support from the LEA.

As Rafique remarked:

I think we were expected to initiate too much ourselves. I think that we could have had a lot more guidance. I would have expected a bit more support from the LEA. Of their expectations of what we were actually going to do when we got into the schools but there was just nothing. We had to try ourselves to work out some kind of structure to get into schools because we were faced with the fact that we were going to be in the schools within a fortnight, unprepared, far too fast. It was quite frightening because the tasks seemed so enormous and we weren't getting much help.

In the three meetings of the induction week I attended, the majority of time was given over to discussing not only how



as a team they might address the issue of racism but what as individuals they perceived as the issue and on what points they might reach consensus.

Although following two days of debate, they did manage to formulate certain aims and objectives and an initial strategy (see chapter six, part one), the inability to work collectively or agree an approach was to remain a constant feature of the project (see chapters six and seven). The decision of the LEA not to intercede and provide leadership in terms of offering advice and guidance was a position which was to be maintained throughout the two years of the field study. In this respect the approach of the LEA might be considered in similar terms to the laissez-faire relationship between LEA policy and practice considered by Troyna and Williams (1986). They found that whilst LEAs had adopted a multicultural policy:

LEA officers.....were willing to devolve responsibility for the development of multicultural education in schools to individual headteachers and staff. (Troyna and Williams, 1986, p.88)

In this instance whilst the LEA had taken the intermediary step of establishing the project team, the relationship of LEA officials towards it nevertheless remained devolved and permissive. This approach was consistent with the findings of related research (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988; Foster, 1988) which suggested that while LEA guidance and support might be important for school-based multicultural

initiatives, it was frequently not forthcoming.

The only guidance and advice that the team did receive related to the socio-political context and constraints within which LEA officials responsible for multicultural education had to work. As the Senior Adviser stated:

The political colour of this Authority as I have said to you before means that things such as this have to be approached very carefully. As I have approached the multicultural aspects of the job so I know the team must tread carefully and that means low-key, softly-softly, and certainly until we can move people on, multiculturally.

The cautionary nature of the Senior Adviser's recommendation and its conceptual emphasis upon multiculturalism reflected the dominant approach identified by Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) in their study of LEA ESG projects. As their study included Labour-controlled Authorities, it might be political sensitivity towards addressing the issue of racism rather than any "political colour" which is the significant factor. As chapters five and six reveal other factors including the perceived sensitivity of teachers in the project schools and the local community they serve might be additional factors in determining the LEA's low-key approach (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988).

## Conclusion

In considering the recruitment and selection procedures adopted by LEAs in the appointment of teachers, Birley (1970) observes:

There is a thread of amateurish anarchy running through the process which seems at first sight to be the bizzare, accidental fruit of a casual and lawless union between academics, academics-turned-bureaucrats and politicians. (Birley,1970,p.177)

In terms of the recruitment and selection of the Swann Project team, the LEA did not appoint in accordance with the principles of equal opportunity as specified by the CRE (1983) and their own code of practice. Subsequently, the advertising, job description, short-listing and interviewing procedures might all have been approached differently. To implement the Swann Project, the LEA appointed four teachers who held different political perspectives, varying degrees of teaching experience and, with the exception of Rafique's work on home-school liaison, no practical experience of initiating multicultural curriculum development. Moreover, because the LEA considered the Swann Project to be a pilot project, the onus for developing curriculum strategies was the responsibility of the project team. Therefore, no terms of reference or specific guidelines were formulated by the LEA in order to assist the team in achieving the aims of the project.

In understanding the LEA's approach, it might be important to reiterate the early stage of development of multicultural policy and provision in the Authority. Consequently, the professional experience of multicultural practice which might have informed the judgement of LEA officials on recruitment and selection procedures was limited. Similarly, as decisions concerning the project evolved, the marginalisation of the CRCs possibly denied LEA officials consultative support and guidance from black representatives directly responsible for the project's formulation. The relationship between the LEA, the CRCs and the Head Teachers is considered further in the next chapter on the project schools.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE SELECTION, ORGANISATION AND ETHOS OF THE PROJECT SCHOOLS

#### Introduction

In emphasising the importance of context in understanding the development of multicultural policy and provision (Troyna and Williams, 1986), an appraisal and portrayal of the project schools as the institutional context in which the project was to be located and enacted is clearly important (Woods, 1989). The project schools provided not only the educational arena but the local community, teachers and pupils with whom the team were expected to interact and initiate change. As Nixon (1985) states "Multicultural education is grounded in the social relationships of the school" (p.57). The choice of schools might, therefore, be a significant factor in determining the success or failure of the Swann Project (Foster, 1989; Grugeon and Woods, 1990). Consequently, the procedures which were adopted to inform that selection process were equally important. I examine those procedures and consider to what extent the schools were prepared for the project's arrival.

In the chapter I also illustrate the organisation and ethos (Woods, 1989) of the project schools within which the process of curriculum development was to be undertaken by

the project team. In providing such a portrayal, it is hoped that it might act as a template, or exemplar, against which one can assess and analyse contexts and experiences in other schools (Preedy,1988).

### **The Selection and Preparation of the Project Schools**

The decision determining the project's general location was first taken at the MALG meeting in October 1986. In a personal note written at the time the Community Relations Officer (CRO) for Ayton recorded the names of the Secondary and Grammar Schools which were to participate in the project. Prior to the October meeting, in accordance with the original idea of the Ayton CRC chairperson, it was accepted that one school should be in the town of Ayton, the other in the town of Wyton. However, one of the few amendments to the final draft proposal was that one school should be in the Ayton area. The proposed location was, therefore, changed from a specific town, Ayton, to an entire district, Ayton Vale. In an attempt to understand the reason behind this change, CRO for Ayton was asked how firm the CRC's original commitment had been. He remarked:

CRO                    I had a clear idea in my mind that one school ought to be in Ayton, if for no other reason that it was an Ayton CRC initiative and it would have been good to have had a school right in the heart of where we are.

Researcher            Then why was it negotiated out of the final proposal?

CRO We found that one school, the Grammar, was very willing to accommodate the project. And we (the CRC) got feedback from various places that these schools might be good places for the project to go.

Researcher You say you got feedback from various places, where exactly?

CRO From the Senior Adviser and the County Co-ordinator to say that they are the ones. The Co-ordinator was running an in-service course at that time which these two schools were attending and they were kind of high in her estimation in the kind of feedback she was getting. She thought they might be ideal for the project. And at that time if I was to stick it out and say, "No, one must be in Ayton", then I don't know what the outcome was likely to be. Would the project be delayed? And as a result, maybe jeopardise the whole project? I have to decide how far to pursue these matters, the LEA is the one who has to fund it. Without that there would be no project.

Researcher So you accepted their recommendations?

CRO Yes. You see I have responsibility for all race relations issues, it is frequently impossible for me to offer very little, other than a cursory knowledge of any one particular area. For the same reason I am unable to check and have to accept a lot of the feedback I am given and trust that it is accurate.

In this case I was led to believe by the Senior Adviser and the County Co-ordinator that both the Secondary and the Grammar School had a strong record and commitment to the issue of multi-cultural education and that they currently had senior members of their staff on a DES multicultural training course.

The reason the final MALG project proposal was amended from Ayton to Ayton Vale was to accommodate and justify, in terms of the criteria for selection, the location of the project in a school which LEA officials had already

selected. The CRC preferred the selection of a school in Ayton but the Community Relations Officer was aware of the CRC's reliance on LEA patronage for the project's creation.

Moreover, with insufficient information on which to make an independent appraisal he was faced with an impasse: should he pursue the case further and risk the project or accept the LEA's recommendation and thereby appear to arrive at a consensus? In this instance if representatives of the CRC had been afforded greater participation in the school selection process, they might have been able to familiarise themselves with the schools recommended by the LEA and reach an independent appraisal as to their suitability. However, in accordance with the nature of their working relationship, the CRCs were informed by the LEA that two schools had already been identified as having "a proven commitment to multicultural education". The most frequently cited example of this was that prior to the project's commencement, the schools had had two members of senior staff attending a DES 25-day training course at Bulmershe College in Berkshire entitled "The Curriculum and Ethnic Diversity". The LEA's identification of these two schools was subsequently the reason behind their recommendation at the October MALG meeting.



However, even though the decision-making process might have been improved, it does not automatically follow that the schools themselves were unsuitable nor that the criteria by which LEA officials had recommended them to the CRCs for adoption were inappropriate. From interviews conducted with LEA officials, the initial impression was that members of staff from the schools selected for the project had already completed the DES course referred to earlier. For example, when the Senior Adviser for multi-cultural education was asked why these particular schools had been selected, she responded:

Adviser            We had sent some senior colleagues on a course at Bulmershe. Which was a 20-25 day course and we'd used a number of secondary schools. Certainly we'd used the Secondary and the Grammar School. I think they were the only four we sent, including a Deputy from each of those two schools. Now they were very, very positive about the course; they really enjoyed it. They came to us and said, "What are we going to do now we have done the course? We feel all geared up really excited about what we've done but what's going to happen now?" The idea was that it would have been ideal if the people who had been on this course were the people who started looking within their own schools.

Researcher        What year was this?

Adviser            This was 1985-1986. Yes 1985-1986, because of the fact that we did have teachers who had been on the course. You see if you are going to do something unless you've had an input before hand, I couldn't have just gone into the Grammar School and said we are going to do this, without making sure that there were some teachers there who were already supporting some of the ideas, we were hoping to share with the rest of the staff.

Researcher      They'd come off that course in September '86?

Adviser          Yes, yes, that's right.

The impression was given here that the schools recommended and selected for the project had, prior to their selection, participated in the DES course. Moreover, the Senior Adviser implied that the project's location was a response to the demands of senior staff who had attended the course. Apparently, while the CRCs might have had no opportunity to participate in the appraisal of the schools' suitability, from the account provided by the Senior Adviser, I was under the impression for the first 12 months of the study that the LEA had done careful groundwork before making their recommendation. Subsequently, however, verbal and documentary accounts were found to differ. For example, Heather, a member of the project team who had attended the course with the Deputy Heads, indicated during an interview that she thought the course had started in 1986. If verified this would alter the criteria by which the LEA had selected the school.

An interview was then held with the Deputy at the Grammar School who had attended the course and he confirmed Heather's account. Moreover, he provided his course file as documentary evidence of the date. The file revealed that the course had taken place not between 1985 and 1986, as LEA officials had claimed, but between 1986 and 1987. Furthermore, the first session was on 28 September 1986,

only five days before the MALG meeting at which the LEA had recommended the two schools. The matter was raised in an interview with the County Co-ordinator. She was again asked about the selection of the project schools and replied:

Co-ordinator    We had just completed a DES course I was running at Bulmershe where we had got a Deputy Head from the Grammar and a Deputy from the Secondary. So I said there are two schools which would be ideal to put the project into because we had actually been working with two of the Deputy Heads at the time.

Researcher      But the Bulmershe course didn't start until September 1986.

Co-ordinator    That was the second, we had run two or three Bulmershe courses.

Researcher      The Bulmershe course with the two Deputy Heads on?

Co-ordinator    Yes that's right, it was the one with them on, and we had had some good feedback and so after that they were also talking about wanting to do something.

Researcher      I have one of their Bulmershe course files and the first meeting of the course is dated 28 September 1986 and as the recommendation of the project schools was made at the meeting of 2 October 1986, the course had only met once for a two hour session. Yet the impression has been repeatedly given by yourself, as you are saying now and your colleagues that the schools were selected due to an appraisal of their performance on the course and demands by senior staff on its completion.

Co-ordinator    Yeh (visibly extremely uncomfortable, pauses and makes no further comment).

Researcher      Is that correct, one two hour session?

Co-ordinator    Yes erm (still extremely uncomfortable and followed by a longer pause). I..I..I'll have to go back to my files and check but I thought, I was almost..

Researcher        Actually, I've got it here (the course file)  
if you'd like to have a look at it?

Co-ordinator     Mmm..Well all I can think of is that it must  
have been because..you see the course was  
laid, we do the coursework in the April  
before it starts in September. You start to  
produce a course in Spring. So although the  
course I suppose wasn't technically running  
we had still done a lot of work, negotiating  
for the course with the schools, it seems  
such a long time ago now.

LEA officials later apologised for any misapprehension they  
might have created and stated that they had in fact been  
mistaken about the dates and had selected and recommended  
the schools because they had had discussions with them in  
preparation for staff participation on the DES course.

In terms of selection criteria, the willingness of the  
schools to have senior staff in attendance may have  
indicated a certain commitment to multicultural education  
by the school and the Head Teacher who sanctioned staff  
release. However, no other criteria, for example, existing  
multicultural practice or proven staff commitment to the  
issue, were offered to explain why these two particular  
schools were selected. There may, therefore, be some doubt  
as to whether attendance by the members of staff from the  
two schools on the DES course was sufficient grounds on  
which to make a recommendation of this significance.

For example, on taking up his appointment in January 1988  
the Head Teacher at the Secondary School described his

perception of the school's approach to multiculturalism in the following terms:

I was astonished by the school's lack of progress so far on the multicultural issue. I couldn't conceive that the school had 30% of its youngsters from other ethnic origins than white British. I couldn't conceive of the fact that the school before my arrival hadn't addressed these issues even from the gut level of ensuring its own survival as a social institution. The school had obviously just ploughed along with the issues never being addressed.

In relation to provision at the Grammar School, the Head Teacher conceded that while his "learning curve was presently vertical on the issue"; he had previously never considered multicultural education as relevant to the curriculum of an all-white, grammar school. He was, therefore, not surprised, unlike the Head Teacher at the Secondary School, that no multicultural curriculum innovation had occurred in the school prior to the arrival of the project team.

In January 1988 when the team entered the schools, the only explicit curriculum initiative which addressed the issue of racism (Religious Education did deal with other faiths) was in the English departments and arose in classroom discussions around the use of the GCSE set book 'To Kill A Mocking Bird' (Lee,1960). Clearly, the approach and resultant effects of a team entering a school where multicultural education was not on the agenda might be

markedly different from those in a school where the staff were familiar with the issue and had begun to develop the curriculum. For example, Grugeon and Woods (1990) in their study of multicultural innovation in primary schools believed that the success of the initiatives they had studied might in part be attributable to the favourable disposition of the school and teachers towards multicultural education.

Moreover, when accompanied with no opportunity for independent assessment, the LEA's portrayal and recommendation of the project schools to the CRCs lent itself to the possibility of the CRCs holding unrealistic expectations of the project team. It may, therefore, have restricted their ability to offer the team guidance and support based upon an accurate assessment of their predicament. It may have been more appropriate if the selection of the project schools had been taken with a greater degree of CRC collaboration and according to mutually agreed and more detailed selection criteria. In drafting the criteria, it may have been possible to pay greater attention to the task specification so as to ensure a degree of congruency between the feasibility of the project's aims and the appropriateness of the selection.

In addition, whilst the participation of two members of staff on a multicultural training course may have been commendable, it afforded no guarantee that the individuals involved would either want or be able to introduce multicultural education into the designated schools or that their colleagues would welcome the initiative.

In the case of the Swann Project, even though there was a gap of 15 months between the selection of the schools and the start of the project, no groundwork was undertaken to prepare the project schools for its arrival. This is in contrast to the Keele Integrated Studies Project (1969-1972) on curriculum development where the schools that joined the project committed themselves to institutional restructuring which would facilitate the process of change. These commitments included:

1. To plan the timetable to facilitate team teaching and enquiry methods.
2. To form teams of teachers willing to innovate.
3. To provide the resources that would enable children to learn actively through individual or group work.
4. To take an active part in feeding back ideas to the project team based at Keele. (Shipman, 1976, p.9)

In the case of the Swann Project, the background and aims of the project, the reason for the school's selection and the role of the team and their arrival were not discussed with staff. In the event, the team entered two schools which were totally unprepared for the project.

### **The Schools: Local Area and Parental Support**

The Secondary School was located in the most densely populated district in the south of the County in the town of Wyton with a population of approximately 100,000. The town owed its development to its geographical proximity to London. The traditional industry was furniture-making, although new industries such as electronics and pharmaceutical corporations were also in evidence and unemployment was low. The 1981 Census indicated that 10% of all young people up to the age of 15 years in the town were black. The largest black ethnic minority group was Asian (57%) primarily from the Kashmir region of Pakistan (40%), the area also housed a large Afro-Caribbean community (35%) from the Windward Island of St Vincent. The four central wards of the town housed 75% of the black community (IAWP, 1989). It was in the centre of one of these wards that the Secondary School was situated. The school served a distinct long-established and close-knit white and black working class community. The school did have a Parent-Teachers Association but it was very poorly attended and meetings were infrequent. The Head Teacher expressed his concern about the standing of the school in the local community and observed, "The school is distanced from its community and a broad aim is to set this school in its community".



In contrast, the Grammar School was situated in the rural north of the County in the small but expanding market town of Byton with a population of approximately 6,000. The major industry was agriculture and unemployment was low. The region was prosperous and the local population almost entirely white, and middle class (Census, 1981). The school's catchment area included several small country towns and villages, and encompassed a wide rural area. The combination of rural location and grammar school status resulted in the school serving a geographically dispersed community. Nevertheless, despite having no immediate natural community, as a well-established traditional grammar, the school had a high profile in the surrounding rural area and a reputation for academic achievement. The school also possessed a highly organised, well financed, active and influential Parent-Teacher Association. As the Head Teacher commented:

We have excellent parental support, a very high turn out at parents' evenings, a very high turn out at the type of functions the school arranges to explain educational developments. Parents go to enormous trouble to run taxi services for the children to overcome the inadequacies of public transport in a rural area. All these things are very much there, very good group, very active Parents' Association.

### **The School Buildings and Site**

Dale (1975), whilst not arguing an ecological determinist position, does make a link between school architecture and pedagogy. He notes that different spacial layouts reflect

different educational perspectives and due to their longevity help to perpetuate those perspectives.

The Secondary School handbook stated that despite the fact that the school was the town's oldest secondary school, as a result of a recently completed building programme, it still had some of the most modern buildings and new facilities. The handbook continued, "Architecturally the school represents an effective blending of established buildings with more recent additions".

The main body of the school was in two tiers, connected by long, dark, bare stone corridors sectioned off according to the faculty/subject areas which connected to form a disjointed rectangle. The lower tier of the south side accommodated a large staffroom which was used for relaxation and marking purposes, the offices of senior staff and the school office. All these rooms like the classrooms, seemed to receive inadequate lighting from small windows, overlooking either a sloping, unmown grassed interior or the driveway and housing estate beyond. The playing fields were located out of view, to the rear of the school. The school also had new buildings on the periphery of the main structure which included the Craft Design Technology, Art, Music, Science and Business Studies blocks. The last three buildings were all connected to the main school via additional shorter corridors.

The buildings and the site suffered from vandalism. During the research period, tyres on the cars of the staff, including the project team, were slashed on several occasions. The caretaker's house, located on school grounds, was also attacked, and the windows and doors smashed. On another occasion the new Art block was burned down in an arson attack and the school was the victim of numerous break-ins. One visible result of these incidents was displayed on the outside walls of the school in the form of signs which informed everyone that the school was protected by 24 hour video surveillance.

In contrast, two driveways entered the Grammar School; one which was used by staff and pupils and the other which was called the "Headmaster's drive" and was rarely used. The school handbook stated, "The school itself occupies a delightful site and is housed in modern purpose-built accommodation".

The handbook offered an accurate portrayal which was shared by staff and pupils alike. The Grammar School, established in 1423, occupied a pastoral site with accommodation opened in the 1960s. The two storey main building was well-lit, decorated and spacious. Facing east and west, the offices and classrooms either overlooked the well-kept lawns and tree-lined driveways to the front of the school or the large playing fields to the rear. Although there was no

formal structure of classroom allocation, each room had achieved its subject association as a matter of tradition. The staff area was situated adjacent to the library at the end of the corridor on the first storey. It contained a large staffroom on one side, and a marking and private study room for staff on the other. Additional buildings on the periphery of the main building included those used for Science, Craft Design Technology, Music and Home Economics.

Purpose-built sixth form facilities were completed in 1988 and were situated to the south-east of the main building and stood in their own grounds, consisting of classrooms, sixth form private study rooms, hall, dining room and the office of the Head of the Sixth Form. Adjacent to the south-west of the main building was the original Victorian school building, a stately mansion house which was now the "grace and favour" residence of the Head Teacher and his family. It was also the home of the Housemaster and his family, and accommodated both male and female boarders.

### **The Pupils and Staff**

The Secondary School was co-educational. There were approximately 680 pupils, 50% male and 50% female. The number of ethnic minority pupils at the school according to the Head Teacher (no ethnic monitoring) was approximately 227(30%), of which the majority were Kashmiri Pakistanis and the remainder pupils of St Vincentian Afro-Caribbean

origin. Pupils were admitted from the age of 12 years in accordance with the LEA's selection procedure; the school catered for those classified as failing the Verbal Reasoning Quotient test and constituted the bottom 75% of the assessed ability range. The school had no sixth form.

The teaching staff consisted of 50 full-time teachers, 27 female and 23 male. The school had two full-time, and one part-time, black members of staff. The school was consistently below its necessary complement of teachers. This was due partly to an inability to replace staff who left or retired and partly due to the fact that there was a high degree of absenteeism through sickness and ill health. Consequently, existing staff frequently had to cover in what should have been non-teaching periods and there was a heavy reliance upon supply teachers.

The Grammar School was also co-educational for pupils aged between 12 and 19 years. There were approximately 680 pupils, 50% male and female, on the roll of whom 200 were in the sixth form. The number of ethnic minority pupils at the school, the majority from Malaysia and Hong Kong, was six (0.8%). As a result of the LEA's selection procedure, approximately the top 25% of the ability range attended the school.

The school was also able to provide continuity of education for pupils whose parents worked abroad or were subject to frequent moves, offering a boarding facility to approximately 40 students (5%).

The staff comprised of approximately 40 full-time teachers, 25 female and 15 male. All the full-time staff were white. The school, whilst not requiring supply teachers, only just managed to maintain its necessary complement of teachers, largely due to a difficulty in recruiting staff which was a problem shared by all schools in the Authority. Consequently, at certain times staff were requested to cover whilst vacancies were filled.

### **The Management Structure**

The Secondary School had been amalgamated with the adjoining girls' Secondary Modern School in 1976. Since then there had been three Head Teachers and two periods of interregnums when the Deputy Head of the Lower School (Years two and three) was in charge. Consequently, the school had experienced five changes in leadership in 11 years. The present Head Teacher at the school was supported by two Deputy Head Teachers, one with Lower School and one with Upper School responsibilities. The school also had three senior teachers, one of whom was the Head of Communications, the other two were senior pastoral tutors. These six individuals comprised the senior management team.

The school had eight heads of department/faculty and four pastoral heads of year.

The management structure of the Grammar School consisted of a Head Teacher, who had been in the post for six years, supported by three deputies whose titles in order of seniority, were Curriculum Deputy, Pastoral Deputy and Administrative Deputy. The school also had two senior teachers responsible for Careers and Information Technology. These six individuals comprised the senior management team. The school also had 19 Heads of Department.

### **The Secondary School Ethos**

The newly appointed Head Teacher at the Secondary School was asked about his initial perceptions of the school environment. He said:

First of all I did not expect to come into a school in crisis and I think I did. The school had had two terms of an interregnum following a very dynamic leader who knew all the answers, did all the right things but was only in post just over three years. A pupil from the school had just been murdered, we also had an extremely violent Asian boy who was attacking pupils and staff and we had just received an intake from a closed secondary school which was predominantly Asian and which had upset the ethnic balance within the school. I just felt I had to get some sort of stability before I could move forward on anything. So I thought I was coming into a going concern which must have addressed the multicultural issue but it hadn't. In many ways I feel the team like myself were sold a pup by the Authority.

The Head Teacher's perception was that in many ways the task which awaited both himself and the team was more difficult than the LEA had presented. He cites the example of the murder of a pupil which had occurred during the Autumn term prior to his appointment. A white boy from the local community who attended the school had been stabbed to death outside the school by a white boy from another school. This affected not only the community from which the victim came, but as the Head Teacher said:

It sent a ripple of apprehension through the staff in terms of their own safety and relationship with pupils in what was already a potentially confrontational environment.

The Head Teacher recalled another incident to highlight further the sort of crisis environment he had entered. He outlined how in his second term at the school:

A group of youngsters laid siege to a girl's house. They did. After school one day about a mile down the road I suppose, the police rang me and said, "You might be interested to know there is a group of your kids outside somebody's house", by the time I had got there the kids had gone but the police were there and three of our youths were sitting in the back of a panda car looking a bit sheepish.

I don't think anything very awful happened actually except for the people in the house panicked a bit due to a bit of bad feeling between somebody. Anyway I was very angry about it because I was very worried about what it would do to the name of the school to have 20 kids standing outside somebody's house all in their school uniforms you know, with the police there.



The group who assembled outside the house included both black and white pupils from the school. The Head Teacher continued:

I saw one of the kids the next day and he said straight away, "They only arrested me because I am white", I took three paces backwards if that is possible when you are sitting down and I said, "What do you mean?", he said, "They walked past three black kids before they arrested me".

The Head Teacher stated that this pupil's interpretation of events may have been shaped by a previous incident also outside the school which involved the pupil and the violent Asian boy the Head Teacher had referred to earlier.

According to the Head Teacher a "particularly disturbed" Asian pupil joined the school in September 1987. A month later in the centre of the town, he attacked and injured the white pupil referred to above. The Asian pupil was arrested and charged with assault and expelled from the school by the new Head in January 1988.

In the context of these events the Head Teacher believed that:

The potential of racist unrest in the school is there, do you know what I mean? I was reading the Times Ed the stuff about Burnage and an article about the white working class and their reaction. I mean all of that just rang bells in my head with here and the possibility of the backlash.

The social and economic environment coupled with the selective system of education had resulted in the Secondary School becoming imbued with what Denscombe (1985) refers to as a "low-achievement orientation", that is one which:

..results from mutually reinforcing expectations held by teacher and pupils where teachers, looking at factors like the social class, ethnic mix and material environment of the school, come to hold low expectations about the pupils' academic performance, while the pupils, reflecting such expectations and bringing relatively low academic aspirations from their social background, combine to produce a school ethos in which academic attainment gets written of as irrelevant. (Denscombe, 1986, p.59)

In 1988 out of 200 pupils in the fifth year, 143 (71%) entered for one or more GCSEs. Of those, 25 (17%) achieved four or more A-C grades. As Woods (1989) suggests, in the climate of a school with a "low-achievement orientation" pastoral care and classroom control, rather than academic instruction and achievement, become the dominant organising principles upon which the school is based. The organisation of the school was in the words of the Head Teacher "pastoral top heavy". For example, each year group was assigned to one of six pastoral form tutors who reported to a Head of Year who in turn reported to either a Lower School (years two and three) pastoral Senior Tutor or an Upper School (years four and five) pastoral Senior Tutor. The pastoral organisation of the school was, similarly, reflected in the educational and career backgrounds of the Lower and Upper School Deputies.

During my visits to the school, while no racist attacks were witnessed or reported, racist name-calling and graffiti were common place and there was undoubtedly an atmosphere in the school which led one to surmise that the Head Teacher's concerns over the potential eruption of racial violence were not unjustified. In more general terms, the school corridors at the time of the visits were frequently lined with black and white pupils who had been sent out of classrooms for misconduct. All the teaching staff expressed a general concern about ill-discipline. For example, the Head of Humanities felt that the situation was now so bad that she had decided to take early retirement. She observed:

Everybody is complaining about the standards of the school, the poor motivation, the aggression, you know the sort of anti-teacher, anti-everything sort of attitude. I'm sick of the classroom ill-discipline. We have such aggression, such rudeness and such bad language, the kids telling you, pardon my French, to fuck off, they are unmotivated, untidy, there is just no job satisfaction any more.

In addition, questions about problems of discipline were frequently answered by staff referring to the behaviour of black pupils, in particular the assertive attitude of Asian students towards staff. Teachers related the current increase in discipline problems to the closure of a neighbouring secondary school. The closure had resulted in approximately 50 pupils, 30 of whom were Asian, entering the fourth year.

As the Upper School Senior Pastoral Tutor remarked:

These new Asian pupils have changed the pecking order in the fourth year and they are assertive and influencing other Asian pupils who were more quiet to join them. And when we have them moving as a group together it seems threatening, it seems to be purposeful and have this feeling about it evoking fear. Say a group of ten of them moving together through a corridor, it is quite terrifying.

The group behaviour described by the Senior Pastoral Tutor was never witnessed during the two years of the research. The decision by these new Asian pupils to congregate at one end of the school had resulted in creating what staff referred to as the "Asian End" of the school. The problem of discipline, although pervasive had come to be defined in terms of increased numbers of Asian pupils and their assertive attitudes, rather than as possibly due to the LEA's disruptiveness in moving them or the school's possible failure to make adequate provision for their arrival. Similarly, senior pastoral staff rather than be responsive to the educational and pastoral needs of pupils, appeared simply to react with chastisement to instances of ill-discipline. The dominant view of staff was that the pastoral organisation of the school with its emphasis on discipline and control was "keeping the lid on" the school.

The attitude was reflected in terms of the general repressive relationship between staff and pupils. As the Head Teacher stated:

It is a terribly repressed school. The pupils have absolutely no voice, they have no say in anything, their opinion is never asked for, it is never accepted when it is offered and unfortunately although I am trying I don't think I have managed to change it that much. I would say that 60% of what happens in the classroom is given over to control rather than teaching.

Correspondingly, he was aware that staff were "exceedingly wary of anything which might undermine that control". The pastoral organisation which dominated the Head Teacher's 'crisis management' of the environment in the Secondary School was the antithesis of the curriculum dominated academic ethos of the Grammar School.

#### **The Grammar School Ethos**

The Grammar School had one of its three Deputies as the only member of staff designated a pastoral responsibility. Form teachers were expected to fulfil a pastoral role in that they taught one period of PSE. In addition, a form teacher from each year was nominated head of PSE for that year and the overall programme was co-ordinated by the Head of PSE. In contrast to the Secondary School, the Deputies all had a subject specialist, as opposed to a pastoral background. For example, the Curriculum Deputy had a Ph.D in English Literature.

Commenting on pastoral provision, the Head Teacher remarked:

..we have very little pastoral support. This is an academic school catering for the upper mobility range and has a lack of any discipline problems. I suppose in pastoral terms the major concern is occasionally that of stress caused by the taking of examinations.

Within the school, over the two year case study very few problems of discipline were witnessed and the relationships between teachers and pupils, as well as between pupils, were mutually respectful and good natured, creating for the most part a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere. One teacher who had previously taught in a secondary school summed up the environment when he said "The thing that really hits you is the lack of stress, there is no threat in this place at all".

The emphasis at the Grammar School was upon cognitive performance and it was this which dominated the organisation and culture of the school. The primary objective was academic success achieved through a curriculum geared towards the sitting and passing of examinations. As the Head Teacher stated:

Exam success is the important factor certainly in retaining credibility within the community. The school is seen to be a school which at the last analysis has to produce good results.

As in the Secondary School, class allocation was based on mixed-ability and there was no streaming. In terms of academic performance, in 1988 the fifth year at the Grammar School contained 121 pupils all of whom were entered for on average 10 GCSEs. The majority, 108 (89%), obtained A-C grades in at least eight subjects. Since as the school had very few discipline problems and a very good record of academic achievement, the majority of classroom time was given to teaching, rather than control as in the Secondary School (Rutter et al,1979). In this respect, there remained a strong subject-department loyalty amongst Heads of Department (Ball and Lacey,1980; Woods,1989), particularly those of long standing (see chapter six).

The Head Teacher believed that it was precisely because his school did not experience a "multi-racial crisis" that he and the school could assist the cause of the project. He considered that as a grammar school, it had a specific role to play within a selective authority. As he remarked:

There are a good many schools of this type in the Authority, who would find it useful to have had a school which without any strong external pressure such as race riots in the playground or without questions been asked in the house had quietly and professionally looked at the issues and said, "This is how we think in our circumstances we should respond", and perhaps then share that experience with others, not as a blueprint, not as something you buy off the shelf to apply, but as a framework in which you see your solution to similar problems. That demands a fairly quiet non-aggressive stand.

I feel that there is a role that I can play because I don't present the starry-eyed idealist, the impossibly utopian, missionary-minded looney and perhaps simply because the school has its type of image. If we take it seriously I think that maybe we can help other people as well. However, we could lose that ability to influence if we went over the top. The shadow of Burnage hangs over us all.

In making these remarks, it is particularly interesting that the Head Teacher of the Grammar School, although operating in a white, middle class academic environment was equally mindful of managing an approach which avoided negative reaction in the community.

He was asked to elaborate further and commented:

This school is a very high focus school, people in the community know it and it is talked about, it is very much respected and anything I do has to be based on the premise that we are going to retain that trust and build on it. People are aware of what's going on and it has a long, long history. I therefore have to ensure that we don't do anything which undermines that confidence: a. makes the job more difficult and b. doesn't advantage either the pupils or the staff of the school.

The governors are hoping that I and my colleagues can deliver continuing good exam results while having development and to that extent I feel that we are being observed and the outcome is being awaited with interest. Of course it would be very helpful indeed if we had a particularly good set of GCSE results. Given a year's disastrous results I am quite certain somebody will be saying, "Why are you doing this instead of that?"



Nevertheless, while the Head Teacher of the Grammar School in taking managerial decisions about the project, might have had to consider the effect on the standing of the school in the community and with governors, the implications of mismanagement at the Secondary School may have been a lot more critical. As the Head Teacher believed:

I think we live the issues having a 30% ethnic minority, it's not like the Grammar School where they are really at the debate and philosophical level, we are not, we live this every day and if we make an error or we make a bad judgement or something happens which is traumatic we have got to live with it.

Significantly, while the school ethos and the local communities the project served and in which the team was expected to function were antithetic, both Head Teachers were conscious of managing an approach which did not risk a white backlash. Consequently, in line with LEA officials who were mindful of the sensitive political disposition of the Authority towards addressing the issue of racism, so the Head Teachers, although for different reasons, were equally cautious. In embarking on the project, the type of team approach they all favoured was the "softly-softly, low-key and multicultural" approach.

The potential managerial influence of the Head Teachers over the team was reinforced by the fact that the team had no terms of reference. Consequently although the team were

technically under the line-management of LEA officers, in practice their parameters for action were also defined by the Head Teacher's implicit terms of reference according to which they managed the school. This relationship might have been difficult to sustain if a strategy proposed by the team and/or LEA had conflicted with the Head Teacher's perceived interests of the school, or similarly if a strategy the Head believed might be adopted had conflicted with the LEA and/or team's perception of the role of the project. In the event, as the study reveals, these issues of management never arose. Nevertheless, in order to avoid the possibility occurring, it might have been more advisable if the parties concerned had agreed explicit terms of reference prior to the project team entering the school.

## **Conclusion**

Since neither school had previously addressed in depth the issue of racism, prepared for the project's arrival or involved the CRCs, the criteria by which the project schools were selected might have been insufficiently rigorous. In summary, the Secondary School had a heterogeneous multi-racial intake, the vast majority of whom went on to leave the school at 16 years of age with few academic qualifications to take up jobs in local industry. The school was organised to a system of pastoral care which had developed out of concerns over the

perennial discipline problems within the school over which present concerns focused on the new intake of Asian pupils into the fourth year. In contrast, the Grammar School had a relatively homogenous white intake, selected on the basis of the school's primary organising principle and one major target outlet, higher education. Moreover, there was only one route to that outlet, cognitive performance which dominated the organisation of the school. The school itself experienced very few problems in terms of discipline.

While the school ethos reflecting the profiles of the schools was antithetic, the Head Teachers were both wary, although for different reasons, not to take management decisions concerning the school and the project which might antagonise the local white community. In effect, they agreed with the LEA that any approach should be "low-key, softly-softly, and multicultural".

The senior staff's promotion of this approach in shaping the team's aims and objectives and its use in the facilitation and initiation of departmental change are examined in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE SWANN PROJECT AND DEPARTMENTAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

#### Introduction

In describing the process of curriculum change in relation to the Keele Integrated Humanities Project (1969-72), Shipman (1976) notes:

Curriculum change does not proceed through a clear cycle from a statement of objectives to an evaluation of the learning strategies used. It is a process of bargaining, negotiation and horse-trading.  
(Shipman, 1976, p.43)

In order to examine the process of departmental change in relation to the Swann Project, I have divided the chapter into three parts. Part one considers the team's drafting of the project's aims and objectives and offers the initial perceptions of LEA officials and Head Teachers concerning what they hoped the team might have achieved within the allocated two year period. In Part one I also begin to examine how far those aspirations were realised, and consider the initial approach of the team and the significance of teaching ideology and teaching perspective (Sharp and Green, 1975) to the process of change. In Part two I examine the issues which arose following the team's attempts to facilitate access to work with departments via the Head of Departments within the schools.

The analysis considers the project in relation to issues such as curriculum innovation and career development (Huberman and Miles,1984), the pastoral teaching perspective associated with multicultural education (Leicester,1989) and the role of occupational culture in the process of change (Hargreaves,1980). In part three I analyse the team's initiation of change within those departments to which access was facilitated. In particular, consideration is given to the use of collaborative approaches to teaching (Grugeron and Woods,1990) and their significance in engendering and maintaining staff "ownership" of change (Berg and Ostergren,1979). I conclude with an appraisal of the scope of departmental curriculum development acheived.

## **PART ONE: THE INITIAL DEPARTMENTAL APPROACH**

### **The Aims and Objectives of the Project**

In January 1988 the newly-appointed members of the project team met to discuss and formulate their aims and objectives, which were provisionally agreed as follows:

#### **AIMS**

1. To improve the quality of education received by students in preparation for joining an adult pluralist society
2. To promote the commitment of the County Council:
  - (i) To the principles of "Education for All"
  - (ii) To counter the effects of racism

3. To facilitate "whole school" structural changes to support a pluralist approach to the curriculum

#### OBJECTIVES

1. To identify and build on good practices which are in accord with the principles of "Education for All"
2. To collect, utilise and disseminate teachers' ideas in relation to "Education for All"
3. To identify areas of institutional injustice
4. To encourage and facilitate open discussion on the principles of "Education for All"
5. To facilitate and extend the development of teaching strategies, departmental and school policies, which enable pupils to examine and evaluate prejudice
6. To assist teachers in the production and development of courses and materials which embrace the principles of "Education for All"
7. To facilitate the development of strategies to enable schools to oppose racist behaviour
8. To provide up to date information about developments and issues in pluralist education
9. To identify potential links between the schools and the wider pluralist society
10. To present a report including proposals for further action.

The team members in drafting the aims and objectives of the project were very conscious of the fact that they were going to be operating on behalf of the LEA within an Authority politically sensitive to addressing the issue of racism. They, therefore, attempted to ensure that the wording and the spirit of the aims and objectives complied with the County Council's existing multicultural commitment

to the Swann Report (DES,1985). In this context, as the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education stated:

I regard these aims and objectives as a public relations exercise, the wording was particularly important given the Authority in which they would be operating.

Despite these possible limitations upon the wording of the aims and objectives, team members and the County Co-ordinator were aware that they still offered the scope "should we feel the time was right" to introduce more explicit antiracist approaches. As an expedient starting point which provided an opportunity for developing different approaches, the aims and objectives were in line with those adopted by project teams working in white areas on ESG-sponsored initiatives (Tomlinson and Coulson,1988). Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) report:

Aims do not fall neatly into any multicultural or anti-racist divisions, but they do reflect local needs and priorities. In areas where issues of race, ethnicity and culture have rarely been raised the aims reflect this position. Several workers described their aims and work as "Starting from where people are", taking a "softly-softly" approach..There was however, a general view that it was possible and often more appropriate to work to achieve anti-racist aims via multicultural work initially.  
(Tomlinson and Coulson,1988,p.170)

The Swann Project's aims and objectives also had to be approved by the two senior Deputy Heads from each of the project schools. For this purpose, a meeting was convened with the team, the County Co-ordinator, the Curriculum Deputy from the Grammar School and the Senior Deputy from

the Secondary School in attendance. The meeting commenced with the team taking the Deputies through the proposed aims and objectives.

Subsequently, all the comments came from the Grammar School Deputy, although his colleague from the Secondary School fully supported his recommendations. In particular he was concerned that certain words and phrases "would go down like a lead balloon" with the Head Teacher, governors and staff. For example, he initially objected to the project's first aim "to counter the effects of racism" until it was pointed out that this was taken directly from the LEA's policy statement. He further objected to the term "structural changes" in objective (3) and suggested it be replaced with the term "developments". He also objected to the usage in the same objective of the phrase "institutional injustice", preferring "injustice within societal institutions". He believed that the rewording would be "less confrontational" and would "take the heat off the school". His final objection related to objective (7); he stated that he preferred the use of the terms "to confront and counter" rather than to "oppose", as he felt it was "softer" and therefore likely to meet with "less resistance by staff".



In making these recommendations, the Grammar School Deputy stressed:

..while I don't object personally to you having these aims and objectives as they stand, I feel obliged to play the role of devil's advocate putting myself in the place of the Head, governors and staff who to put it mildly are to the right of Genghis Khan.

All his amendments were accepted by the meeting without objection or debate. Significantly, the only aims and objectives to which objections had been made and amendments suggested were those which specifically addressed the issues of institutional and individual racism. The belief was that the more explicit and forceful the reference to addressing the issue racism was, the more likely the project was to alienate, and therefore fail to gain the support of, the Head Teacher, staff, governors and pupils in the schools. It was believed that the aims and objectives of the team as initially presented might have proved to be counter-productive.

The amendments and the reasons for their recommendation reiterated and supported the need for a "low-key, softly-softly multicultural" team approach within the schools already endorsed by the LEA. Indeed, the fact that the County Co-ordinator considered the aims and objectives as they were initially drafted to be acceptable suggests that the schools were if anything even more wary than the LEA that the approach should be a low-key affair.

In addition to the drafting of the formal "public relations" aims and objectives, LEA officials and the Head Teachers were asked at the beginning of the project "to say in detail" what they hoped the project might have achieved at the end of the two year period. The SEO (General Services) replied:

The obvious first point is the acceptance of the need for curriculum modification. The second thing is that we provide some working models that are capable of transfer. Obviously I would hope that we would develop some expertise of both teachers in those schools and in the project team to be able to contribute to in-service.

The Senior Adviser for multicultural education:

I'd like to think that at the end of the two years we have got schools where first of all they know what they are doing in relation to multiculturalism, that every area within the school and every department has looked at their curriculum in relation to it and I also hope that they've got the confidence to be able to look at all the issues to do with it, including racism.

The County Co-ordinator for multicultural education:

If the team has got both schools to make a clear multicultural commitment which they would follow through and that they'd got the whole staff to own it, I would be absolutely delighted that they were actually carrying through a whole-school policy.

Although they were asked "to say in detail", the responses provided a range of general aspirations rather than specific initiatives. The general nature of the replies may

reflect earlier observations by these officials regarding the pilot nature of the initiative and the difficulty in specifying particular terms of reference or guidelines for the project's enactment. However, the perception of curriculum development offered by LEA officials is nonetheless interesting. In particular, no general reference is made to the development of curriculum materials or the possible attitudinal change and behaviour of pupils after two years. The common hope is that the project, although in different ways and to different degrees, might have encroached upon the multicultural perception and practice of teachers.

The hopes for the project that were offered covered a broad spectrum of curriculum development. For example, the SEO's (General Services) hopes varied between staff "appreciating the need" to change, to the project schools providing "models" of success which other schools might use as exemplars for their own development. Moreover, he hoped that the staff within these model schools, in particular the team, might be able to provide in-service sessions to other teachers. Whereas the first objective might be considered moderate and restrained, the others might require the team to have effected considerably more change. The Senior Adviser limited her focus to expectations of change within the project schools. However, her hopes were similarly restricted to staff having appraised the existing

curriculum, being familiar with multiculturalism and having the "confidence" to address the issues of racism. In contrast, the County Co-ordinator focused on whole-school policy and hoped that within two years such a policy might have been adopted and in the process of being implemented within the project schools.

In linear terms the parameters of curriculum development envisaged within the two years scanned from a focus on the attitudinal change of individual teachers, through their review of the departmental curriculum and their adoption of a whole-school policy, to their in-service diffusion within the LEA.

The Head Teachers were also asked what they hoped the project might achieve after two years. In line with the response of the LEA officials, their remarks focused upon the teaching staff and were couched in general departmental curriculum and whole-school policy terms. For example, the Head Teacher at the Grammar School said:

I think it has to be a slow careful process and so if within the two years we have managed to produce staff who think that as an integral part of their educational programme, they should be addressing this issue, who think naturally about that, even if we haven't got a final departmental format, we shall have achieved something really worthwhile.

The Head at the Secondary School commented:

The school has no multicultural policy and that must be on the agenda for the next year and that I hope will raise the issues. I would like to be able to show that we have a school policy which is beginning to affect the way the school is working and beginning, for example, to affect the way that people write departmental aims and objectives and it is beginning to be embodied in the work the school is doing. I would like us to be able to point to concrete areas like departments that have become involved in the project and for them to show us what they have changed as a result of the project. But I'm realistic I'm not expecting any road to Damascus transformation.

In general terms the aspirations of both LEA officials and the Head Teachers are in line with the Swann Report (DES:1985) which states:

..we are not so much concerned with changing the content of the curriculum as with bringing about a re-orientation of attitudes which inform and condition the selection of teaching materials and the way in which various topics are approached and presented. (DES,1985,p.328)

The qualification of their hopes for the project and the reference to a "slow careful process" by the Head Teacher at the Grammar School may be further grounds for suggesting that the Head Teachers were more predisposed to counselling a cautious low-key team strategy than the LEA. I will reveal in the next section how the team members on entering the project schools were faced with this dominant philosophy which underpinned their initial approach.

## **The Team's Initial Meetings with the Heads of Department**

As I revealed previously, no preparatory groundwork on the arrival of the team was undertaken in either of the project schools. Similarly, on entering the schools, senior staff acknowledged that the provision of only a cursory introduction of the team to the staff was not the most appropriate way to introduce the project into the school. As one senior teacher observed:

I think it started a little half-cocked. They started on the Monday, they were introduced at staff briefing and then they were just sort of left and within a day people said, "They are just wandering around the school. What are they here for? What are they supposed to be doing?", and it's to their credit that they got in and hassled and impinged themselves on staff and tried to get involved. That's bloody hard, it's rather like selling encyclopaedias or double glazing.

To develop the analogy further, as staff were not offered any pre-sales marketing on the multicultural product before the sales team arrived, the responsibility fell on the team to introduce themselves and the project to the schools. However, as the team were also uncertain as to what precisely they were offering, staff were hesitant in their approach towards them.

As a senior teacher at the Grammar School observed:

I'm not clear where they fit into the scheme of things. I think one of the problems was that they weren't sure what they were doing when they came into school. They had to work

through and find out their role and I think that perhaps puts staff's backs up that they weren't entirely certain what these people do and quite how to approach them.

The only theoretical guidance provided by LEA officials and senior staff was that the team should approach the schools extremely carefully on the issue of racism. As team members at the Secondary School, Carol and Hugh, explained:

Carol            I initially adopted the softly-softly approach because I was led to feel that, well I'd better not rock the boat because this is a Tory shire.

Hugh            Coming into the Authority they say, "Well you can't do this and you can't do that, be very careful of what you say and do. Don't rock the boat".

The LEA officials' interpretation of the potentially hostile political climate was the practical justification for their theoretical "low-key" advice. Equally, for managers uncertain as to how the team should initiate change and for a team unclear about their role, this strategy was also probably the most expedite, since any difficulty in addressing directly the issue could then be justified as a legitimate strategy. In terms of their initial approach, the team agreed with the view of a senior teacher at the Grammar School when he stated:

The softly-softly approach is the only way we can do it. For two reasons: first they don't have the muscle in terms of hierarchy and power, and secondly they will create an equal and opposite reaction if they try anything too radical. That means it will go slowly but I think that is the only way. I think

otherwise people will not talk to them and just freeze them out and just leave them in their room and say let them get on with it we won't speak to them.

In adopting a low-key approach, the team intended to use the first term in each school to hold an initial meeting with each Head of Department.

The members of the team took a decision that they would introduce themselves to the Heads of Department with a copy of their aims and objectives. However, in the case of the team at the Secondary School this was not possible, as Carol explained:

We couldn't show the Heads of Department our aims and objectives because the Head hadn't approved them at that stage, so we had to waffle around them in our initial meetings. There was also a practical problem, a team member from the Grammar School was going to reproduce them but it took two weeks for us to get them. By the time we had got them photocopied and to the Head that was another week gone, the Head didn't come back to us for another two weeks so that was the whole half-term gone.

If the team had intended to follow a common strategy, then logistically it encountered problems at the first hurdle. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the Secondary School team did not have its aims and objectives available for dissemination, the informal approach by the team in both schools was very similar. For example, the team at the Secondary School explained their initial approach in the following terms:



We decided that we would start by just really familiarising ourselves and that wasn't very structured. It was literally a case of going and speaking to Heads of Departments to find out really what they thought we were about and to give them a little bit more information about what we were about, but we didn't want to raise too many issues in that phase. We had a chance to introduce ourselves, say who we were and hopefully to build up an atmosphere of trust. I suppose just to sow seeds really.

The team at the Grammar School described its unstructured approach in similar terms:

Initially, we were making them feel comfortable and explaining what we were about. We discussed our aims and objectives with them or if they wanted to ask us any questions on them and also how they saw us helping them and working with them. I think we needed to know the people, how they thought and how they responded.

In the case of the Swann Project, the response of the Heads of Departments to the initial meetings was found to be similar in both schools. Teachers were found to be already potentially hostile to an initiative which they felt had been introduced without their consent. As a Head of Department at the Grammar School remarked:

We weren't asked, we were informed. I mean lots of staff have not even read the Swann Report. I mean they didn't know what the whole thing was about. And they just feel it has been foisted on them without their say so and they resented their presence in their department asking questions.

The team, in failing to provide the Heads of Department with a clear presentation as to their role, simply added to the staff's existing confusion about the team's purpose within the school. A Head of Department at the Secondary School summed up the situation:

At a Heads of Department meeting I expressed my concern about what they were doing. I said, "Are these people here to tell us what to do, are they here to look at everything, are they here to look just at multicultural things or what?" I would have preferred a more direct introduction earlier on so that staff were in no doubt as to their aims and objectives. I think they should have come round the departments to find out a little bit about the school, the feel of the school, and I think staff need to know if people are in, why they are in, what their aims are.

Similarly, a Head of Department at the Grammar School remarked:

I'd have liked to have had more information on them and their role. I think we ought to have known where they came from and what their qualifications were. You see, I mean generally professionals feel threatened, I think their role should have been more explicit. I'm still not sure why the project was set up.

This dominant perspective of staff was compounded at the time of the project by the "Race Spies in Classrooms" headlines in the national media (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988). Because no groundwork had been conducted, which might have allayed such ideas and because the team were unable to provide a clear definition as to their role, a climate existed in which negative, stereotypical

perceptions amongst staff were allowed to grow. For example, the comments made by a senior member of staff at the Secondary School gave an indication of the influence the media and other factors external to the school may have had in shaping perceptions. She commented:

Teacher           The feeling you get from the literature in advance is that they will be coming in and going through everything that you do and tell you you're not doing anything right. That was the feeling we got before it started.

Researcher       From which literature was this?

Teacher           From the article in the newspaper which said they were going to check all our books and that sort of thing. And also from what one hears from friends who live in places like Hillingdon. You heard, "God help you if you dared use the word "black" and each week a whole new set of words came in that you weren't allowed to use any more." The fear of the thing was built up.

The atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion, although more pervasive at the Secondary School, was also evident amongst staff at the Grammar School. For example, a Head of Department at the Grammar School was asked what was his initial understanding of the project. He replied:

I think really I was suspicious, with all the race spies coming out of Brent you are bound to be.

The uncertainty and mistrust about the project was encapsulated in the view expressed by a teacher at the Secondary School. He believed that the lack of clarity over the team's role had led to the suspicion amongst staff that

the team may have had some other hidden, more sinister motive. He remarked:

I think initially there was suspicion amongst staff from just about everybody that they were just Brent automatons. I think the team was a little bit cagey when they first came into the school. But I suspect there has been, not a hidden curriculum, but a hidden ideology. I like them, but I would like to know where they stand on political issues. I think staff would respond far better to an explicit overt stance rather than an "Olly North" approach. I mean they are quite old and quite set in their ways and opinions. But I think they will respect somebody saying what they believe and showing that through what they do. The thing they don't respect is somebody telling them what they should do but not being quite honest or not being clear.

The comments and reactions from staff at both schools indicated that the team's interpretation of a softly-softly, low-key strategy resulted in staff holding totally unclear perceptions of the team's role. Moreover, the approach was so low-key that members of staff became suspicious that the team were actually working towards some hidden agenda.

The situation may have been compounded by the team members' proposal to senior staff, requesting that in the schools they should be referred to as the "Curriculum Development Team" rather than the "Multicultural Team". This suggestion mirrors the "linguistic compromise strategy" referred to by Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) where in attempting to overcome initial teacher opposition a non-threatening label

is self-ascribed. In the cases offered by Tomlinson and Coulson references to antiracism were replaced with a multicultural label, whereas in this instance it was believed that the term multicultural might be perceived as too threatening. Tomlinson and Coulson go on to warn of the danger "that in retreating from the label teachers could be retreating from the real action required" (p.187). In the case of the Swann Project, it simply added to the confusion and suspicion of teachers as to the role of the team. In addition, the name Curriculum Development Team proved to be particularly confusing as the initials CDT already stood for Craft Design Technology. Consequently, after one month the team became known as the Swann Team.

Ironically, the approach engendered the very reactions it was supposed to prevent; the team in their strategic interpretation adopted an approach which was so "soft" and unpersuasive that staff became distrustful and suspicious. The fact that the Swann Project was a curriculum development initiative which had been planned and formulated outside the school and for which staff had in no way been prepared might have added further to their feelings of apprehension. For example, Shipman (1974) in his account of the initial phase of the Keele Integrated Studies Project (1969-1972) reports that the project team were unclear of their approach and that this led to a misunderstanding and resentment amongst some teachers who

viewed the team as an unnecessary intrusion. In the case of the Swann Project, it was found that staff at both schools would have preferred to have had a clearer understanding of the team's role. A more precise presentation may have avoided the pervasive confusion and enabled staff to make a professional judgement about the project and their relationship to it.

The initial meetings were intended to have been a two-way process, not only to familiarise the Heads of Department with the role of the team, but to allow the team to identify and evaluate the perceptions of the project held by the Heads of Department. In this case, if the process resulted in staff remaining unclear as to the team's purpose, similarly the casual and unstructured approach resulted in the team collecting very little qualitative, evaluative data from which to develop strategies. The initial interview process was time-consuming and in effect the meetings were to be the only opportunity that the team had to interview the Heads of Department and determine their teaching ideology and perspective. What is meant by a teaching ideology in this context can be classified by Sharp and Green (1975) who defined it as:

A connected set of systematically related beliefs and ideas about what are felt to be essential features of teaching. A teaching ideology involves both cognitive and evaluative aspects, it will include general ideas and assumptions about the nature of knowledge and of human nature - the latter entailing beliefs about motivation, learning and educability. It will include

some characteristic of society and the role and functions of education in the wider context. (Sharp and Green,1975,p.68)

Multiculturalism and antiracism may be classified as two such teaching ideologies (Woods,1989). Furthermore, teachers within the same school and within the same department may hold totally different and conflicting ideologies (Ball,1987). Sharp and Green (1975) in recognising the "high level of generality" (p.69) and complexity of teaching ideologies introduced the related notion of teaching perspective, which interacts with a teaching ideology, although more situationally specific. They defined a teaching perspective as a:

..co-ordinated set of ideas, beliefs and actions a person uses in coping with a problematic situation. A perspective includes both thoughts and actions. It contains a number of elements; some concept of the environment and the problems it creates; ideas about social objects within the environment and the various inanimate features of their resources to hand; a definition of the goals and projects, and what can be expected from the environment; a rationalisation for being and acting therein; a specification of the kinds of activities one ought to involve oneself in; a set of criteria to evaluate one's own and other's actions; and finally, a set of congruent activities and actions which are employed to deal with the situation. (Sharp and Green,1975,p.70)

In the case of the Swann Project, whereas the teaching ideology of members of staff may be viewed as shaping their general theoretical and conceptual disposition towards addressing the issue of racism, their teaching perspective may be viewed as shaping the manner in which that teaching ideology manifests itself in practice, which might include

staff reaction and involvement in curriculum developments suggested by the team. In this sense the identification of the general teaching ideology, and more specifically the perspective of teachers and the team's interaction with them, may be an important factor in the facilitation of change.

The process of identification may have been particularly difficult as the Administrative Deputy at the Grammar School observed:

The project is not something that staff feel you can be seen publicly to oppose in front of the hierarchy or be sceptical about.

As the team's physical presence in the school implied the sanction and support for the project by senior teachers, the Deputy suggested that teachers may not have considered it professionally expedient to oppose or criticise the project openly. Moreover, she added:

I think any teacher who is in any sense intelligent in the broadest sense of the word has got to support multicultural education because if they don't they know in their heart of hearts that they can be accused of racism. They might walk round thinking bloody multicultural education, no problem here, waste of time. But they won't say it openly.

The staff's presentation of their attitude towards the project may therefore have been determined by the nature of the innovatory issue, any criticism of which staff believed may have left them open professionally to accusations of



racism. The existing climate of suspicion and the possibly disguised presentation of perspectives meant that the team's identification of the teaching ideology and the perspectives of Heads of Departments at the initial meetings may have been particularly difficult.

As the team's future departmental strategy decisions largely depended on these meetings, they were central to the project's development. In adopting a non-evaluative unstructured approach, the problem for the project team was not necessarily in identifying the position of members of staff who were either very supportive or very negative, but rather identifying and evaluating the majority of individuals who held a teaching ideology and perspective of the project somewhere between the two extremes. The members of the team at the Secondary School were asked how following the informal meetings with the Heads of Department they decided who was and was not suitable to work with. Carol replied:

Very unscientifically; it was simply those who demonstrated the greatest keenness, that when we talked to them they were interested and instantly open to discuss possibilities.

The team members at the Grammar School were asked the same question, Rafique remarked:

I don't think we have done it in any objective way. We have done it in a sort of ad hoc way, we kind of talked with them on a conversational basis which I suppose is very

subjective. In the end I think maybe it came down to the fact that we thought some staff would be nice and comfortable people to be with and I suppose we decided to work with those people who have expressed a wish to let us become involved. Maybe we needed to set more objective aims. Unfortunately none of us knew what we wanted to achieve or or how we wanted to achieve it.

The informal meetings resulted in the Heads of Department remaining unclear and suspicious about the aims of the project and team members being able to make only a very limited appraisal of how to assess, plan and undertake the next phase.

### **The Initial Work with Departments**

Following the initial meetings, the team approached the Heads of Department with the intention of allowing them to set the agenda for the project within their department. As Heather remarked:

We tried to reinforce all the time that we were a resource which it was up to them to use. So if you like, we were trying to demonstrate to them that we weren't going to come along and tell them what to do, that we weren't in that game, that we were a resource which they should use.

Although it was necessary to engender the support of staff, the terms on which that support was obtained were not determined by the project team. The reluctance of team members to engage in multicultural discussion resulted in their negotiating a way into departments, either by accepting whatever the member of staff wanted them to do or

by suggesting general changes in classroom practice not directly related to the aims of the project. For example, in the Humanities Department at the Secondary School a team member worked for one term developing general group work. The non-controversial development was acceptable to the classroom teacher who had just completed his probationary period and was keen to look at different teaching styles. Approximately one year later, the same Humanities teacher worked with the members of the team again; however, this time they attempted to introduce multiculturalism and the issue of racism into the curriculum material. The teacher was asked how these two approaches had compared. He replied:

With the first team member, she showed me teaching styles and I wasn't so conscious of her actual role as a member of the Swann team. She provided quite a lot of input which had nothing at all to do with sort of multicultural issues. The other teacher provided material more to do with the issue of racism and the context of racism. She obviously saw her role to be much more to do with multiculturalism and racism.

I thought the first teacher's approach was far more applicable. I mean we live in a school which has got a multicultural environment, I think it is important that we don't over-emphasise things, you can do things implicitly through general discussions on India without having to hit somebody over the head with a hammer over it.

The teacher found the first approach more acceptable because it was negotiated on his terms. The initial softly-softly approach may have fulfilled a teaching need

of that particular member of staff, but, as his response to the second approach indicates, it was a waste of valuable project time in engendering a commitment to multicultural curriculum development. Furthermore, the approach was transmitting implicit messages to other members of staff who favoured a more direct multicultural and even antiracist approach. As a Head of Department at the Secondary School observed:

I felt during the first year they were doing things that were not what I necessarily interpreted as the Swann Project. I felt there was a shift in focus away from what I perceived they were in for, enabling departments to move into antiracist multicultural dimensions, into other issues which I interpret as coating the pill. They were looking at group teaching and things that a lot of us are quite versatile in and I felt some of it was a waste of time. They were developing group work but it wasn't even group work with multicultural antiracist issues.

Similarly at the Grammar School the team, wanting to gain access to departments without alienating members of staff, adopted what they considered to be a flexible, softly-softly approach. As Rafique explained:

It's somehow a case of having a repertoire of material to suit them. To ensure that they will not then be saying thank you very much but I don't want you back in my lesson again. I think it is a case of playing a lot by ear.

Consequently, the team at the Grammar School also ended up undertaking and justifying all types of approaches as acceptable strategies.

For example, in approaching the Head of Physical Education, Rafique explained his approach in the following terms:

I'm working on playing squash with the Head of Department. Now that's interesting because I have this thing in the back of my mind which says if you can get through to people on a personal level, they'll offer information to you and then you can offer information to them and then you can find out where they are at.

The informal contact resulted in the team member undertaking some teaching within the department. However, comments from the Head of Physical Education obtained at the end of the two year project indicate how ineffectual such informal strategies may be. The Head of Department was asked about his contact with the team. He replied:

Well, Rafique did a bit of hockey teaching with the department. Unfortunately, it didn't last long. We were short of a member of staff so that had nothing to do with the project, there was no particular input as far as that was concerned, it was just straight hockey teaching which I think he enjoyed. Unfortunately, I don't think it ever became clear what the project was supposed to be about as far as I was concerned.

In terms of the initial approach, the team provided no clear parameters for developmental work other than presenting themselves as a resource and allowing the Heads of Department to decide the agenda of action. Consequently, members of staff under increasing pressure of work attempted to use the team to fulfil their own immediate staffing needs.

As Carol from the Secondary School observed:

As it turned out, going into classrooms initially was a bit of a waste of time; all we were doing was going in to support teach, which was fine for establishing relationships, but not for achieving the aims of the project. We found that to go in without any clear perspective and simply hope something would emerge, it simply wasn't happening. For example, in one department we were spending a couple of hours a week support teaching but not really achieving anything.

Eventually through discussing the issue in-depth and by sharing and exchanging their own teaching ideologies and perspectives with teachers, team members discovered that they achieved a greater degree of mutual understanding with members of staff. As Carol remarked:

I've come to the conclusion that I don't think you can achieve the sort of level of change that we want to achieve by being so softly-softly that you blend into the wallpaper. In fact, we were trying to put the cart before the horse, what we failed to realise is that you gain credibility by making demands.

A more overt expression of the team's teaching ideology and perspective might have enabled staff to formulate and offer their own position on the issue more readily. Moreover, it might have assisted the team in determining future strategies.

However, the team, in interpreting the need to adopt a softly-softly approach, attempted to hide the issue they

were addressing. As a consequence of this, staff, unclear as to the team's position, were equally reluctant to reveal their own, particularly during an informal introductory meeting.

The initial phase of the curriculum development project might therefore have been used more appropriately to identify and evaluate these differing ideologies and perspectives held by staff within the project schools. Moreover, as the views of staff on the issue may differ, not only within departments (Ball, 1987) but between institutions (Sharp and Green, 1975), the team may have needed to develop and agree a team ideology and perspective as an exemplar against which to gauge and develop their own strategy.

#### **Developing a Team Perspective**

In initiating the process of curriculum development, the team recognised that individual teachers held different viewpoints which might have required different responses. As Rafique observed:

I think different people are coming from different perspectives and different degrees of understanding and these need to be responded to accordingly.

However, because the team did not offer their own teaching ideology and perspective on the issue they gained entrance to departments, not through negotiation around specific

curriculum development criteria, but by simply adopting the teaching perspective of the member of staff, which in some cases had no relevance to the aims and objectives of the project. In essence, the team, in concentrating on the short-term "ends" of entry, neglected the "means" by which they negotiated access.

The reason why the team did not offer an explicit team perspective was not due to the fact that they never recognised the need to develop one; it was primarily because team members were unable to agree one. The nearest the team came to agreeing a "co-ordinated set of ideas, beliefs and actions" (Sharp and Green, 1975, p.70) for coping with the problematic situation of facilitating the project's introduction into the schools was the decision to take collective responsibility. As Hugh explained:

We decided from the start that it would be a single face that would be shown to people, that regardless of what a person said, whether it be right or wrong, the other person wouldn't stand up and say anything or add anything. Should anything go wrong, and it has, we would then, at a later date, go back to that person and try to pick up the pieces.

The collective responsibility approach became problematic precisely because the team had not formulated a common perspective on the issue. For the staff this simply added to their confusion over the role of the project as different members of the team presented different



perspectives at different times, on each occasion with the support of the team (for examples of this see chapter Seven). The prime criteria for working effectively as a team is "clear objectives and agreed goals"

(Woodcock,1979,p.183). Woodcock continues:

If a team has no clear view of what it wants to achieve, then it necessarily follows that individuals cannot contribute in any optimum way towards its success. (Woodcock,1979,p.183)

In the case of the project team, the inability to identify a shared perspective became highly dysfunctional to its operation and the lack of consensus became a prime factor in the disintegration of the team strategy. As Carol and Heather observed:

Heather            I think we have learned how to agree to differ. I don't feel we are any closer to knowing what we each want to achieve. I don't think anybody knows anything about anybody else's perspectives. We are able to present a team face, whilst keeping our own personal objectives under wraps.

Carol             I think until you make explicit the political position of the people on the team, then you can't move forward. I support the principle of a team; I think it is essential. I mean, if there had been a committed antiracist team then there are certain strategies that we could have adopted, likewise if there had been a committed multicultural team there are other strategies we could have adopted. Unfortunately, you can't adopt any team strategy when you perceive the issue in totally different ways.

We were coming into difficulties negotiating between us a common approach because we perceived education in different ways. There are certain conversations we were having when we were saying well I don't like that, I don't agree with that and so in a sense it was a quick remedy to say okay we'll go our own way and work to our strengths. It enabled us to get on with it basically.

In order to initiate an effective team strategy team members believed that they needed, but were unable to agree on, a teaching ideology on which to base and develop a teaching perspective for the project's delivery. The inability of the team to reach consensus may have been due, as already discussed, to the recruitment and selection procedures adopted by the LEA (Woodcock,1979). Subsequently, unable to develop a common perspective, the team approach disintegrated.

As a consequence of this, individual team members focused their attention on departmental areas where they believed they could operate successfully. In practice, borne out of necessity, this tended to correlate with subject areas according to their previous teaching experience. The reasons for this are explored in part two, as the study examines the issues which arose from the team's attempt to facilitate access to departments.

## **PART TWO: THE FACILITATION OF DEPARTMENTAL ACCESS**

### **Identifying Agents of Change**

Fullan (1986) has referred to the importance of school climate and teacher attitudes in the process of facilitating curriculum change. The educational climate within both the project schools was one which had recently experienced the introduction of GCSEs and the Technical and Vocational Initiative (TVEI). In addition, at the time of the project both schools were re-appraising their curriculum and organisation in relation to the demands of the national curriculum and the Local Management of Schools. In the case of the Grammar School, the process of change had been facilitated by the Curriculum Deputy. In order to assist him, he had identified and supported the recruitment of staff, including Heads of Department whom he believed would support the same curriculum development objectives and operate as "agents of change" within the school (Woods, 1989). With regards to the Swann Project, he remarked:

I can see some people very willing to take this on board immediately because they are used to new initiatives and others who will see it as an imposition.

Subsequently, in the initial phases of the project at both schools it was the Heads of Department and members of staff who had a professional history of supporting educational innovation in general that welcomed, at least

in principle, the introduction of the project. However, it was also discovered that the Heads of Department and members of staff who were initially the most supportive towards the project were also the most likely to leave the project schools for career development. As the Curriculum Deputy from the Grammar School observed:

In terms of change you've got to pinpoint people. A lot of people want to hide in a grammar school and because there is a situation where they want to hide by definition, they don't want things to change. I bet it's significant that the ones they'll (team members) get the best feedback from are the ones who are terrified of been stuck professionally in a selective authority. These are the people who are the agents of change, they are the ones who will give most support to the project.

In the event these remarks were to be particularly prophetic; as Curriculum Deputy he had been largely responsible for the project's placement and initial management in the Grammar School, yet within six months of the project's commencement he took a Headship in another Authority. Similarly, a very supportive Senior Teacher at the Secondary School was subsequently to take up a Senior Advisory role with another Authority. The apparent correlation between teacher commitment to curriculum innovation and career development has been supported by the research of Huberman and Miles (1984).

They state:

..it is often those people who were most successful with an innovation who were most likely to get or seek a job elsewhere. (Huberman and Miles,1984,p.181)

Huberman and Miles (1984) further consider that whilst the career development motive may give initial impetus to an innovation, the temporary relationship with the individual concerned may later "de-stabilize it" (p.181). Preedy (1988) recognises that the departure of supportive teachers raises particular questions and problems concerning "the maintenance of change after the change agent or initiator has departed" (p.40). In relation to the Keele Integrated Studies Project (1969-1972), Shipman (1976) comments on the paradox that:

Innovation was choked by change, particularly school reorganisation and turnover in personnel..The consequent lack of continuity resulted in an uneven advance and in some schools an abrupt halt. The greater the change in the context of innovation, the less chance there seemed to be of success. (Shipman,1976,p.176).

The transitory nature of supportive Heads of Department due to career development posed a particular problem in the case of the Swann Project for the perpetuation of curriculum development. In addition to the personnel loss, the danger existed that an incoming Head of Department might change the curriculum and thereby jeopardise any developments that may have already occurred. For example, the Head of History at the Grammar

School had been one of the most fervent supporters of the project. Indeed, such was his initial commitment that in the second year syllabus he had replaced the "Industrial Revolution" with a course on "Black Settlers in Britain". When as an outgoing Head of Department he was asked whether he thought there was a good chance that the curriculum material developed under his leadership would disappear on his replacement, he replied:

I would have thought a very good chance, I can't see any reason why it shouldn't. I mean they will come in and if they are worth appointing they will immediately re-write the syllabus for years two and three because they will want to own it.

Mechanisms may need to be established to ensure that an in-coming Head of Department is not given a curriculum "carte blanche". For example, a procedure may be built into departmental, moreover the whole-school's, multicultural or antiracist policy to establish the process by which the replacement of a particular curriculum must be negotiated. Consequently, a new Head of Department may be able to change the curriculum content and establish ownership, but s/he must endeavour not to alter the perspective from which it is addressed, without considerable negotiation.

The question of personnel-dependency and curriculum development might mean that a team needs to be wary of concentrating on Heads of Department or staff who may

have only a transitional relationship with a project, an observation with which the team concurred. As Carol stated:

We were very aware that the people who want to work with you are the ambitious people. So there is no point in us developing work with them that wouldn't be taken up by other people.

Ideally, a team might need to aim for a situation where more than one person within a department can be identified as committed to the project and with whom curriculum development work can also be undertaken. However, even this approach is not without problems; in the case of the History Department at the Grammar School not only did the Head of Department leave but the equally supportive teacher who replaced him as Acting Head of History was also to leave. The departure of two of the most supportive members of staff within the life of the two year study period confirms the need for a team to reinforce any staff commitment with the development of departmental and school policies. In this way, a team may ensure that although the staff infrastructure may vary, the policy foundations will remain unchanged. Furthermore, although the top five percent of the most committed staff, and therefore possibly the most transitory staff, may be readily identifiable through an informal process of meetings (as may the bottom five percent), the task of identifying the teaching ideology

and perspective of the remaining staff who are more likely to stay at a project school becomes even more important.

It may also be a case for identifying and enlisting the support of less senior members of a department. As the Administrative Deputy at the Grammar School observed:

I think there are some departments where you will not do it top down and you may have to start with a junior member. I know there are some Heads of Department who will pay lip-service yet obstruct. However, there is no reason why they cannot be circumvented.

I think as one member of staff you could perhaps set up a second or third year course for your group. It is when one starts getting into GCSE that difficulties arise. But I think tactfully put with the support of other staff you may eventually convince them of the necessity.

In engendering the support of less senior staff, a degree of curriculum development work may be possible without needing to consult the Head of Department. Furthermore, whilst a bottom-up approach might eventually necessitate the involvement and agreement of the Head of Department, so a top-down approach raises the issue of how staff are consulted and persuaded of the need to support an initiative. The Head of Department may be convinced of a project's validity but there remains the task of persuading the rest of the department. Indeed, Bolman and Deal (1984) suggest that the imposition of top-down



change, if not handled correctly is not only likely to be resisted but may also be defeated. They add that it is unwise to assume that the right idea and the authority of senior staff are sufficient to ensure change. They contend that such approaches might:

..run foul of the political agendas and political power of the "lowerarchy"- the individuals and groups in middle and lower-level positions in an organisation who can devise a host of creative and maddening ways to resist, divert, undermine or change efforts. (Bolman and Deal, 1984, p.140)

The Head of History at the Grammar School was aware of the need to achieve curriculum change through departmental staff consensus. For example, in terms of his focus upon changing the second and third year syllabuses, he remarked:

There was a lot more freedom for me to exchange parts of the second and third year syllabus than examination groups where staff were quite happy with the GCSE syllabus. I think there would have been a lot more resistance from my department if I'd suddenly decided to change exam syllabuses. Quite simply, the demands upon staff time to acquire the required knowledge to deliver new, unfamiliar GCSE material would make change even less acceptable to them.

Clearly, the influence and significance of the "lowerarchy" in the initiation of change is not to be under-estimated or strategically overlooked.

Moreover, in decisions relating to whole-school change, their perspectives and support might be particularly influential and important (see chapter seven).

Nevertheless, all significant curriculum developments ultimately require the support of the Departmental Head. As Preedy (1988) recognises:

Bottom-up change is likely to be incremental and small scale, unless its initiators are able to enlist the support of more senior staff.  
(Preedy, 1988, p.123)

In working with less senior staff, the approach might be viewed as part of a longer term strategy for eventually gaining the support of the Head of Department (for example, see section on the English Department in part three). Moreover, given her/his power and influence over the curriculum, it would appear to be advisable and diplomatic to keep the Head of Department informed of any developments. For example, the team undertook work with a junior member of the Craft, Design Technology Department at the Grammar School, whereas the consultation and discussion with the Head of Department was minimal. As the Head of Department stated:

In terms of contact with Rafique I could put it into hours, probably six to eight hours over the year.

The Head of Department revealed that whilst he was generally supportive of the project, he believed that at times it had interfered with the general work of the department. He said:

If I may be blunt, there have been times when I thought it has interrupted what we were trying to achieve. There were other things we should have been getting on with but it wasn't to a point where I was upset enough to complain. It wasn't talked through in a sense that Rafique should have approached me and said, "Look can I do this with so and so?" They never approached me and explained what they were doing in departmental time or said, "Well look this is what we are doing, are you in agreement with it?" I suppose that upset me to a certain extent.

In implicitly accepting the Head of Department's support, the team neglected to pay him the professional courtesy of keeping him informed in the way in which he thought he deserved. A less sympathetic and more demonstrative Head of Department may have subsequently rejected the team's presence. In any case, if the team intended to develop work further in the department, they had in the manner of their approach potentially alienated the individual from whom they ultimately needed support.

### **The Pastoral Focus Afforded the Project**

Heads of Department may have generally supported the project's presence within the schools, but the perspectives they had of the issue and the methods by which it should be addressed were not necessarily

conducive to facilitating departmental access. In both schools, the dominant perception amongst teachers was that the project should fulfill what was primarily a pastoral role. As a teacher at the Secondary School remarked:

I suppose I see the project in a sort of PSE (Personal and Social Education) role, you know helping them understand more about different cultures and hopefully teaching them how to get on with each other better, I mean being in a school like this there's no need to tell them we live in a multi-racial society but that doesn't mean they know how to behave in it.

A teacher at the Grammar School also stated:

The kids in this school unlike let's say the kids in the Secondary will leave and go all over the world they are going to be in a pluralist society. It's no problem to know about a nice little county town, they've got to know about everything. That's why it's important in subjects like PSE that we teach them about other cultures and that the world outside their village or whatever is multicultural or multiracial.

The similarities and contrasts between the two accounts are interesting; whereas the teacher in the Secondary School was concerned with improving relationships between pupils within the school, the Grammar School teacher was concerned with developing the pupils' perception of the society and world in which they were living. The difference in emphasis within the two accounts reflected the different organisation and ethos of the two schools. However, in subject terms teachers in both

schools held primarily to a non-departmental cross-curricular association for the project, particularly with PSE. The link between PSE and multicultural education is understandable; such a comparison is made by Leicester (1989) who states:

..like multicultural education, its aims are fundamental - involving explicit thinking about what kind of society and what kinds of persons we are seeking to develop. (Leicester, 1989, p.78)

However, while Leicester (1989) may hope that the aims of PSE and those of multicultural education will eventually become not "an additional bit on the curriculum but a re-orientation of it all" (p.78), in the case of the project schools "an additional bit on the curriculum" was precisely how PSE, and by association multicultural education, were perceived in the project schools. The notion of pastoral matters as marginal to the main stream departmental curriculum was offered by Preedy (1981) as one of the main sources of role conflict likely to be encountered by pastoral staff. She states:

Marginality: since "pastoral posts" are a comparatively recent innovation and pastoral work does not draw on a defined body of expertise in the way subject specialisms do, you may feel that all pastoral roles are, in a sense, marginal. (Preedy, 1981, pp.130-131)

The pastoral focus afforded the Swann Project was therefore significant as it had an impact on the importance of the project's departmental prioritisation

concerning the perceptions of teachers regarding more important academic-subject developments. As a Head of Department at the Secondary School stated:

I think most teachers like me were so uptight dealing with GCSE that we really weren't able to take on board what we saw as a fairly peripheral pastoral project.

This was particularly the case within the academic environment of the curriculum-dominated Grammar School. A Head of Department at the Grammar School remarked:

Teacher            In the last few years, we have had GCSE, GRIST, TRIST, TVEI and now Swann, and one prioritises. I'm afraid I speak for a lot of people, I mean while you know we agree totally with the principles of Swann, I think brilliant, yes, super but when you are down to prioritising in a tight schedule I'm afraid it comes very, very low down the list and it is just as simple as that. I'm not anti-it, it is just that we already have so much to take on board, it's just going to mean more work.

Researcher        Why is it such a low priority?

Teacher            Because the other things are directed by the Government, the Head and Deputies. I mean if we had to mark it, assess it, take an exam on it, satisfy the parents on it then maybe it would get a higher priority. We are no longer educating for enjoyment, feasting the kids' minds with research and scholarship. In that situation we might prioritise it but it's not the one we are in.

The Swann Project was perceived as yet another imposition in a climate of ever increasing demands upon their time. As the Head of Humanities at the Secondary School remarked:

There's a tremendous surge of hopelessness in education at the moment, there is just more and more chucked at you. Quite honestly, you know with all the other pressures on you you can't do everything. There's just too much, national curriculum, GCSE and all these things, one just let's go, you know because you have got so much on. The issue of multiculturalism is just not high enough on my agenda. There is very little interest I would think mostly because teachers haven't got the time. We'd all be brilliant teachers if we had more time.

The relationship between the staff's perception of the project as peripheral to the departmental curriculum and its low prioritisation in terms of increasing demands upon their professional time was important.

It raised the question as to whether it was only when the project was considered peripheral that time necessarily became a factor in determining the staff's departmental involvement. For example, if teachers had considered the project directly relevant to their department and curriculum the issue of time might not have arisen, as staff may have accepted it as part of their curriculum practice. Whilst the prioritisation of the GCSE was understandable, the low prioritisation of multicultural education might have been connected to the fact that the team were unable to get staff to perceive the initiative as an integral part of the existing and developing departmental curriculum. This in turn might have been related and reinforced by the dominant perception amongst

staff that multicultural education related primarily to PSE and the pastoral needs of the pupils.

A further important implication of this generally held pastoral-PSE perception of multicultural education was that the project should be focused on the needs of pupils, rather than the institutional procedures of the school or the attitudes and practices of staff. For example, while Clemmet and Pearce (1986) in their book "The Evaluation of Pastoral Care" include teachers in their discussion on the development of pastoral care, the underlying tenet of the book relates to pupils. In reference to PSE they state:

..educationalists have realised the need to help young people acquire the skills necessary to become members of a highly complex society - skills which have not been sufficiently developed, perhaps, through the traditional academic curriculum followed in the majority of state schools. (Clemmet and Pearce, 1986, p.17)

In professional terms, teachers perceived pastoral care, PSE and the project as relating to the educational needs of pupils. The question of pastoral relevancy to their own professional practice and beliefs never arose. Moreover, pastoral care through PSE lessons was seen as an additional responsibility of teachers to raise personal and social issues which previously might only have been discussed within the family.



As a teacher at the Secondary School said:

The problem is we only get them for so many hours a week. A lot of this returns to the parents, I don't know what is being said or happens in these homes but I know that a lot of the time we end up having to deal with the consequences. We each have a form tutor role which is also a pastoral role and we are suppose to talk about issues like Aids, unwanted pregnancy and other things but it's not enough, one lesson a week and really the kids go home and then it's the parents who should be talking about these sorts of things. God knows what they are saying.

The notion that PSE was somehow compensating for issues which may have inadequately been addressed at home also surfaced in interviews at the Grammar School. As one teacher remarked:

In many ways I think it is more important that we talk in lessons like PSE about multicultural things and such like, because whereas kids in other areas may hear things from their parents about pakis this and pakis that or whatever at least those kids can go out into the street, or go to school and see for themselves whether that's the case. For these kids they may be picking up things, may be not so extreme things, but they don't have that chance so I think that's where we come in.

The fact that PSE lessons may afford teachers with the opportunity to address these issues may be important. However, an implicit assumption also being made was that while the institution of the school may take on the pastoral responsibility of teaching about 'race', it was the institution of the family which was really

responsible for addressing the issue. In relating the issue of racism to the pastoral and PSE needs of pupils and in viewing the professional task of teaching PSE as in some sense compensatory for family discussion, racism might be viewed as somehow peripheral to them professionally. It was therefore possible that the dominant pastoral and PSE focus within the project schools may have been implicitly reinforcing a process of marginalisation.

The relevance of addressing the issue of racism was being transferred from the teacher to the pupil, from the subject-department to PSE and from the school to the family. This may also help explain why the formulation and implementation of a whole-school policy which included the professional beliefs and practices of teachers may have been so problematic (see chapter seven).

The pastoral perception of the project within the two schools may have been further reinforced by the guidance offered by senior staff and the resultant cross-curricular work of the team in areas such as PSE, Creative Arts and General Studies. As a senior teacher at the Grammar School observed:

I was very concerned to ensure that when the project started it would have a high role in PSE. That would be a place where it

would fit in ideally. Unfortunately due to complications at a personal level that has not been the case, but we are currently developing a Creative Arts course and I see it fulfilling a similar role quite nicely.

Due to the onset of the national curriculum, the Grammar School timetable had been re-scheduled, resulting in additional free periods being created. As a temporary response to the situation, a Creative Arts course was established at the school at which the team were invited to contribute. Subsequently, in negotiations with senior staff the team found themselves undertaking curriculum development in non-departmental cross-curricular areas. The team at the Secondary School were also timetabled to undertake two PSE classes each week. Significantly, the team had no difficulty in gaining access to those areas which did not impinge upon the departmental curriculum, but which fitted in with the pastoral perception of the project and the timetabling and staffing needs of the schools.

While in the short-term pupils may undoubtedly have benefited from being taught by the team, in terms of facilitating a long-term change, the project's pastoral focus was less appropriate. Team members in the main had to develop lesson plans and teach without the collaboration of other staff. Consequently, team members found themselves in a time-consuming classroom situation without being able to engender and facilitate the

understanding and commitment of other staff (see section in part three on collaborative approaches). In addition, the dominant pastoral focus of these initiatives acted as a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton,1980) for staff who already perceived the project as not necessarily relevant to the departmental curriculum. Consequently, the staff's pre-occupation with the project's pastoral role tended to reinforce its marginalisation.

Moreover, in terms of the project's status within the schools, Ball (1981) refers to temporary cross-curricular subjects, such as Creative Arts and PSE, as low-status "sink" subjects; as Woods (1983) states "they have little marketable currency, existing primarily as instruments of social control within the school"(p.71). The senior staff similarly associating and allocating the project team's unilateral responsibilities within these "sink" subject areas may have been implicitly transmitting "hidden values" (Lynch,1987,p.60) to staff about the project and multicultural education in general. The term "hidden curriculum" is usually used in the context of pupils, for example, Kelly (1982) defines it as:

..those things which pupils learn because of the way in which the work of the school is planned and organised, but which are not in themselves included in the planning or (sometimes) even the unconsciousness of those responsible for the school arrangements (Kelly,1982,in Preedy,1988,p.8)

Reference has already been made to the fact that staff may have been reluctant to criticise the project's presence within the schools as its placement implied senior staff support. Similarly, in the context of its subsequent association with PSE, Creative Arts and General Studies, the senior staff may have been implicitly signalling to teachers ways in which support for the project may be qualified in terms of its status. In that context, teachers may have believed it expeditious not to criticise the project but not important enough to involve themselves or their department with it. This perception could be readily accommodated since it reinforced an existing teaching perspective based on multicultural education as being primarily peripheral and pastoral. As the Administrative Deputy at the Grammar School implied:

The team have one of the most difficult challenges. Because here let's be honest you have very bright staff who are very bright at circumventing anything they don't want to happen. If you were to be cynical, staff are shrewd enough to recognise its relevance and clever enough to consign it to a pastoral area where it would have the minimum amount of effect on them professionally. PSE is only taught once a week by 26 form tutors.

Woods (1979) refers to a similar occurrence in terms of teacher-pupil relationships where teachers faced with increasing professional demands upon their time and commitment feel that they are unable to do a

professional job, in such a situation he contends there may be a change in goals amongst staff. In effect, the "transmission of knowledge" becomes secondary to a "personal consideration of security and ease" (p.141). Furthermore, because in professional terms it is important that this change in goal is subtly achieved, the diversion of their professional skills into such strategies Woods (1979) has termed "the hidden pedagogy of survival" (p.141) (see also Denscombe,1985). In this instance the "survival strategy" (Woods,1979; Riseborough,1985) might relate to the attitude of staff towards accommodating into their already burgeoning professional practice what they perceive as an unnecessary (Gaine,1987) and time-consuming innovatory issue (also see chapter seven).

The possibility of such a situation occurring in the context of the Swann Project might have implications for the way any project which addresses the issue of racism is subsequently supported and directed by senior teachers, particularly the Head Teacher, and the way it is introduced and presented within a school.

Carrington and Short (1989), having reviewed the psychological literature on attitude change, refer to the theory of Sherv and Hovland (1961) which contends that a person's attitudinal change is more likely to occur the

closer the perspective being presented is to the individual's existing perspectives. Carrington and Short (1989) contend that as research (Troyna and Ball, 1985) suggests the dominant perception amongst teachers on racism remains assimilationist in nature, the initial tactical adoption of a more low-key, softly-softly multicultural approach may be the most appropriate initial strategy for ultimately achieving their commitment to antiracism. In this way they believe support for curriculum development may avoid "falling on deaf ears" (p.235) or be seen as "typifying the so called looney left" (p.235). A similar pragmatic attitude to the use of multiculturalism as a means of achieving antiracism was referred to in chapter one as a feature of the "new multiculturalism" (Hatcher, 1987) or Education for Racial Equality (Gaine, 1987). Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) in their study of 24 ESG projects in white LEAs also found project teams tactically using multicultural strategies for the purpose of departmental access.

In the case of the Swann Project, the low-key softly-softly multicultural approach was found to increase staff suspicion and may also have resulted in reinforcing the dominant marginal pastoral and PSE teaching perspective afforded to the project. Moreover, it ministered to the "survival strategies" (Woods, 1979) of staff which meant that it did not represent an

insurmountable problem to them. The possibility of subsequently introducing the issue of antiracism may therefore have been hindered, rather than assisted, by such an approach. The research suggests that the degree to which any tactical multicultural perspective might be adopted needs to be very carefully handled if it is not to prove counter-productive. (Chapter eight on the life-history method considers further the possibility of facilitating attitude change through identifying individual perspectives).

In further confirmation of the pastoral focus afforded to the project, the research found that although Heads of Department might take on board a PSE tutorial responsibility, they do not necessarily regard it as relevant to their own department. For example, one year into the initiative, the Head of Mathematics at the Grammar School was asked how he perceived the project. He commented:

Teacher            They are trying to make our children aware of the fact that we live in a multicultural society. I have a form tutor's responsibility to teach PSE so I will do that to the best of my ability.

Researcher        What about in terms of Mathematics?

Teacher            We had a department meeting and staff agreed with me that we know of no input there could be except the basic ancient Greek and Arab and maybe some Indian. Although I have noticed that exam papers are now putting in obligatory Ahmeds and Singhs, but I've noticed no more than that.



I suppose, if I am given information on something to do with multicultural mathematics by the team and I remember it at the time I think I might be able to use it, I will use. You know if I judge it is valuable and it is important and in a particular context, but as I say I don't think there is much need for it, except of course I might try and discuss it in PSE. I mean I would hope that we are sending children from this school out into the world ready to accept any person on their merits not on the colour of their skin or where their parents came from.

Evidently, the teaching ideology supported by staff might have been multicultural, but their teaching perspective, that is how they thought the issue of multiculturalism and racism should be addressed within the schools, was predominantly pastoral. The Head of Mathematics' reluctance to acknowledge the relevance of the project to his subject might only be partly explained by his perception of the project as being primarily pastoral, it might also be related to the Grammar School's emphasis upon the academic curriculum and in that context the criteria by which he perceived his own professional practice.

#### **Academic Validity and Professional Expertise**

The reticence of teachers to acknowledge the relevance of the project to their subject area was particularly pertinent to the experiences of the team based at the Grammar School. The response may in part have been due to its emphasis upon academic attainment.

As Rafique discovered:

If it is not an academic subject then it does not have a high status. Subject status is a factor because of the hierarchy that exists in the school. It is all too easy for members of staff to say it doesn't infringe upon them. The, "It doesn't impinge upon Mathematics, you haven't shown me anything", type of attitude. It's tied in to the idea that the project is seen as cross-curricular, therefore not an academic thing, it can slot into that area. Many people say, "PSE that is a natural avenue for what you are doing", meaning our subject area isn't that relevant.

In effect, the ability of the project team to undertake curriculum development work may have been restricted through the occupational culture (Hargreaves,1980) of teachers within the school. Troyna (1988) notes the significance of occupational culture in relation to the development of whole-school policy on 'race' (see chapter seven). The response of the Mathematics Department cited in his study, echoes the view of the Head of Mathematics in relation to the Swann Project's efforts to achieve departmental change. Troyna (1988) states:

..maths staff insisted that the policy had little relevance to their work.....staff claimed that they had "checked through the syllabus and textbooks etc. for problems with course content but these are not really applicable to Maths.  
(Troyna,1988,p.169)

Moreover, the dominant academic organisation and ethos which informed the occupational culture within the Troyna (1988) study was also dominant within the project's

Grammar School. If, as Troyna (1988) suggests, the occupational culture of teachers may hinder whole-school developments then a similar case may be able to be applied to innovation on "race" within specific departments.

In relationship to the Mathematics Department at the Grammar School, members of the team made frequent attempts to engage the staff and the Head of Department in discussion but they failed to see the project's relevance and, as in the Troyna (1988) study, came to "resent the intrusion" (p.169). For example, following the Head of Department's repeated assertions that multicultural education was not relevant to Mathematics, Heather obtained a copy of a book on multicultural Mathematics. She provided the Head of Mathematics with a copy and the following note:

Dear Martyn  
I would appreciate your comments on this book which I was considering purchasing. Can you let me have it back when you have read it and if possible indicate useful pages?  
Thanks in anticipation.  
Heather

The Head of Mathematics received the note and the book at 9.00am, at 10.30am (having taught a class between 9.15 and 10.15am) the book was back in Heather's pigeon hole with the accompanying note:

Every illustration.  
Every example.  
Every attempt to make Maths real is biased for  
somebody.

No text book can avoid it.  
We'll try though!  
Aimed at Primary and Middle and the less able, on  
the whole little relevance to us.

The Head of Mathematics was asked about his response to  
the book. He commented:

Teacher            I looked at the book and it was for primary  
                    and middle school children, not the sort of  
                    thing that was relevant to Grammar School  
                    children.

Researcher        You read the book?

Teacher            Well, I scanned through it, I have a lot of  
                    things to do and we don't always have the  
                    time to give as much attention to these  
                    things as we would like to.

Researcher        I appreciate your point concerning the  
                    possible market the book might be aimed at  
                    but what about the general issue of bias in  
                    Mathematics which the book looked at?

Teacher            As I said to Heather, you get bias in  
                    everything, and that book was simply bias  
                    the other way from what I could see. I  
                    believe in balance but that doesn't mean we  
                    have to go too far the other way, so when  
                    you present Maths in a way that kids  
                    understand its bound to be biased, but I'm  
                    concerned with getting the kids I teach  
                    here to understand and pass Mathematics so  
                    I do that in a particular way. Perhaps if I  
                    was at a secondary school with a lot of  
                    different kids with parents from different  
                    countries I'd do it differently, but I'm  
                    not. It's just not how I teach Maths.

In terms of occupational culture, the response by the  
Head of Mathematics may have been a reflection of his  
general opposition to the introduction into the school

and department of initiatives which have been formulated and developed by the team elsewhere. As Whitty (1985) states:

..professional culture at the chalk face retains a certain capacity to be resistant to change initiated elsewhere, even if its role is essentially defensive. This poses a problem not only for governmental and industrial attempts to give schools a more utilitarian bias, but it also poses problems for those who wish to see schools as a context within which critical insights into the nature of the wider society can be developed. (Whitty,1985,p.148)

Similarly, Hargreaves (1980), in discussing the occupational culture of teachers, refers to the notion of the "cult of individualism" (p.142) which in terms of professional culture mitigates against outside interference into teaching practices: an intrusion which teachers may perceive as a threat to their professional autonomy. As Hargreaves (1980) states, "The heart of the matter, at the experiential level, is the teachers' fear of being judged or criticised." (p.142). A similar theme is taken up by Kelly (1985) who observes:

All innovation in schools includes, at least implicitly, a critique of teachers' previous practice and is thus potentially threatening. (Kelly,1985,p.142)

Furthermore, teacher resistance to change may increase according to the nature of the innovatory issue, particularly those which address questions of equality of opportunity and antiracism (Kelly,1985; Troyna;1988). For

example, in relation to her work on the Girls into Science and Technology (GIST) project Kelly (1985) observes:

However we (the GIST project team) tried to disguise it, the message to teachers was that they had been disadvantaging half their pupils all their professional lives. (Kelly,1985,p.139)

In the case of the Swann Project, the implicit message to teachers might be that by not incorporating aspects of multicultural education they are educationally disadvantaging their pupils in terms of their present departmental curriculum. The implication in terms of their occupational culture is that they may in some way be presently incompetent as teachers (Hargreaves,1980). In the Grammar School this may be perceived generally as a criticism of their professional expertise as subject specialists (see later in the chapter), whereas at the Secondary School with 30% of the pupils being black, the implication may be one of racial discrimination (see chapter seven). As one Head of Department remarked:

I think all teachers in this school would say, quite honestly at the bottom of their hearts they are not racist. I would certainly get very up tight if somebody said I was racist because I'm not. I think teachers get defensive because they wonder why somebody's (the team) coming in putting these views forward when staff think already that they are dealing fairly with all pupils.

As a consequence, in both schools any decision by a Head of Department to allow the project team access into their department might have been perceived as simply a "public exposition of one's incompetence"

(Hargreaves, 1980, p.143). As a Head of Department at the Grammar School remarked:

In other schools the introduction of two people with time on their hands to help you would be grand, here it's seen as, I think, it would be seen by some as a cop out. A way of saying, "Oh you can't cope, that's not right," or that you are not doing things correctly.

In facilitating departmental access, the evidence suggested that in the terms of occupational culture a possible link might exist between teachers' professional notions of academic validity and curriculum development. For example, the project team found it was easier to obtain the support of Heads of Department when they believed the project could be accommodated within the existing criteria which they had established to validate good educational practice and delivery for their subject. This was the initial experience of the team at the Grammar School in its dealing with the History Department. The Head of History was asked how he perceived the relationship between the project and his subject.

He replied:

If I consider there is a convergence between what I consider good history and a multicultural perspective then I am quite happy to implement that, but it's on the proviso that it's good history in terms of my philosophy about what good history should be within a secondary school.

So when we put aside the rubbish from the team about what is history and what constitutes a historical event, such as, "Did you know that steel was produced during the Mogul Empire?". Once that philosophical impasse was breached we were into something which I can deliver in terms of my criteria.

So I went back to what was a skills concept-led syllabus for years two and three. Rafique said "I would like you to do something about Indian History." And I think fine, why not, I want something that confronts an historical problem, Amritsar is a nice historical problem, we'll look at that. Also I need a line of development in the syllabus where I can trace something back, the black community in Britain offers a perfect example, I'll use that.

The fact that the Head of History was developing a multicultural curriculum according to his criteria reinforced his commitment to change and raised the possibility of extending it further. He was asked how far he could change the History syllabus. He answered:

As far as I like as long as I meet certain requirements, in that I am confident I can justify the changes as good history. It meets all the requirements of HMI and it meets all my criteria for a History syllabus.



Moreover, he claimed:

Because it is just damn good History I get something out of it personally. And when I deal with Amritsar or the slave trade, it makes the kids think again. That's what I am in the business of doing - opening peoples' minds and teaching things.

(The question of whether this teacher's perception and delivery of good multicultural history was supported by the team will be discussed in part three of this chapter.)

The team was additionally fortunate in that the Head of History had had previous experience of addressing the issue. He remarked:

When I was in Derby this was a very important issue, so I devised a syllabus which reflected that. When I came here I played safe and was very conservative, until I had a discussion with Rafique and I thought why not, go for it.

In addition to the fortuitous opportunity the teacher's background offered the team, his remarks also reflected on the temporary nature of change and how an individual's commitment needs to be maintained. In negotiating with staff who had neither previously addressed the issue nor were unable to accommodate the project within existing departmental criteria since it was considered incompatible, the task as in the case of the Mathematics Department became more difficult. The team was then

faced with the problem of not only engendering an appreciation of the issue of racism, but also in changing the professional criteria by which Heads of Department perceived their subjects.

Initially, the members of the team at the Grammar School deliberately attempted to break their old subject associations so as to be perceived as a generic curriculum development team and make inroads into other departments. As Heather, a former English teacher, stated:

I initially backed off from going into English, simply because I thought I wouldn't have credence with other departments.

However, the generic approach of the team simply highlighted a dichotomy between theoretical labelling and practical action. Heads of Department may have used the correct terminological ascription, but the team's acceptance remained determined by their previous professional experience as classroom teachers.

Hargreaves (1980) noted that for grammar school teachers in particular, their professional status was derived from their subject-specific expertise. As a Head of Department at the Grammar School remarked:

In a school like this there is a large element of professional snobbery. They class themselves not as teachers, but subject specialists on a higher level.

However, at both schools, Heads of Department were found to be reluctant to accept suggestions of curriculum development from team members whom they believed did not possess professional experience in their subject. This was particularly pronounced in those subject areas which have been classified as having a high curriculum and professional status, namely Science, English and Mathematics (Woods,1983). As the Head of Biology at the Grammar School remarked:

I would find it unacceptable for a non-scientist to be coming into some of our curriculum development meetings and saying, "You should be looking at this". Science has developed so much that a non-scientist would not be aware of some of the implications.

A similar situation was identified in the Science Department at the Secondary School. The team believed that the only reason they were able to gain access was due to Hugh's background as a biologist (see part three). The Head of Science was asked how important he believed it was to have a former science teacher in the department. He remarked:

Having Hugh as a scientist was extremely useful because he's got that expertise. It didn't take him long to fit in. I mean, he is a scientist, he is a former Head of Department so he knows the ropes. I can say if he hadn't have been he might not have had that sort of welcome.

In facing this situation, team members were led to conclude as Heather stated:

The problem was establishing that you could talk to them in their subject language, because they have this, particularly in a grammar school, this ridiculous idea that you have to be a subject specialist. There was no way I think that we were ever going to have any credence in the Maths Department.

Eventually the way the team attempted to overcome this consistent professional marginalisation was by playing the Heads of Department at their own game, as Rafique stated:

It became an issue of our own backgrounds, our own subject specialisms. It was then a case of saying because we are in on the same level as you and experienced teachers in English and Science there is an avenue for this and I can show you that.

A crucial factor in persuading a Head of Department to change the syllabus was convincing her/him that it was academically valid to do so. In this respect, the Head of English at the Grammar School was asked how important it was that Heather had a background as an English teacher. He replied:

To me it mattered a great deal. I think you know there is a natural sort of rapport, a sense in which we are speaking the same language which helped a great deal. I think she has a sensitivity to literature which she can convey and that is helpful.

In negotiating access to the curriculum with Heads of Department, the task was considerably easier when the team member possessed a subject background in the discipline under discussion for potential innovation. However, by definition this strategy may only work in those departments where the team members could show a track record of previous experience. Nevertheless whilst it was unfortunate that team members were marginalised in this way, where they had professional expertise it enhanced the process of curriculum development. In part three I return to the issue of occupational culture and examine the team's initiation of change in those departments where they were able to facilitate access.

### **PART THREE: THE INITIATION OF DEPARTMENTAL CHANGE**

#### **The History Department**

In the initial stages of the project at the Grammar School, the History Department was particularly supportive. However, this commitment was not to be reciprocated or capitalised upon in the approach of the project team. Initially, the team successfully discussed curriculum development with the Head of Department who decided to modify the syllabus of years two and three. However, according to the Head of History, once the new curriculum had been introduced, the team discontinued any further contact with the department. The Head of History stated:

The syllabus was drawn in draft, it was commented on then implemented, since then nothing. Since then we have simply gone our own way. I don't think there's been any contact in terms of curriculum development. In a sense it was a wasted effort, in terms of the multicultural aspect there has been no guidance and it is not working in my department.

The team did not provide any guidance or evaluation on the presentation and delivery of the material. The Head of History described how he perceived the staff's approach:

We were teaching the content with no attempt to put across anything other than a eurocentric view, that's what is coming across whether we intend it or not. I mean there were appalling pieces of work put up on the walls from pupils. The work from the lessons on the native Americans produced displays which said things like, "They are very silly because they believe in lots of gods and they honestly believe that rocks could speak".

Subsequently, the Head of Department decided that the material produced by pupils was totally inappropriate, reinforcing stereotypes instead of dismantling them. He contended that it was the presentation of the material, rather than its content, which he maintained was not historically valid and in accordance with general departmental criteria. However, because of the absence of any evaluative analysis of the curriculum material or the way in which it was delivered, team members were unable to offer any assessment or guidance on the issue.

The Head of History left the Grammar School at the end of the project's first year. He was replaced by an equally supportive Acting Head of Department who, as already stated, was also to leave the school four months before the end of the project. Before his departure he was asked about the History Department's contact with the team. He said:

We have had no contact with them. There has been no evaluating or monitoring by the team of what we have done.

Furthermore, the team's lack of any sustained involvement ultimately resulted in the marginalisation of the issue as a departmental task. As the Acting Head of History continued:

We had got the syllabuses which my predecessor had adjusted, but then, as we weren't given the push to make it a priority so other things have squeezed their way in and become more important for us to achieve and the multi-ethnic aspect of our services has become marginalised.

This process of marginalisation relates back to earlier comments and examples concerning the subjective nature of time and the focus of the project. In the History Department, as soon as the issue is perceived by staff to be other than an integral part of the development of the existing curriculum they are able to marginalise the issue and reduce their commitment to it. Correspondingly, in an educational climate of increasing demands upon staff time so the project becomes a low curriculum priority. The

prevention of this process of marginalisation would appear to have required a sustained visible departmental support for the innovation by the project team.

The explanation the team offered as to why this situation was allowed to occur involved "pressure to develop work elsewhere on a whole-school policy", coupled with inexperience in identifying the need to provide on-going evaluative and collaborative support. Heather also felt that she was not made welcome in the department by other members of staff and, therefore, responsibility for maintaining the initiative was not given as much attention as might otherwise have been the case. The Head and Acting Head of History supported Heather's perception. As the Head of History confirmed:

I have nothing personal against Heather, but there are just some colleagues who you can work with better than others. In this case, I found I got on better and could work more easily with Rafique, to be perfectly honest I just couldn't work with Heather, she was just one of those people I can't get on with professionally or if I may be frank I just can't get on with her at all and I don't think Stuart (later to become the Acting Head) can either.

Clearly, in the case of the History Department, the Head of Department and the subsequent Acting Head of Department both for professional and personal reasons found it difficult to work with Heather. The fact that as a former member of the Grammar School staff, Heather had been



appointed to the team and relocated back in her old school where she had taught for seven years had ramifications for the team's ability to initiate departmental change. Indeed, it was discovered at the beginning of the study, that negative attitudes, both personal and professional, towards her were pervasive throughout the entire school. As the Curriculum Deputy at the Grammar School observed:

I mean Heather was carrying an awful lot of baggage with her past within the school and I don't think that helped in them gaining respect for what they were doing. I think it would have been a good thing if there had been a non-threatening, non-controversial member of staff, but Heather can get people's backs up. For example, the Head of PSE and Heather go back a long, long way and in a town like this you get to know people very well and I think that has been a real problem.

Consequently we have all these PSE meetings going on at the moment, year groups filling up whole courses for next year. They're going well and the Head of PSE is doing a good job. She has refused to have the team in there, now Rafique she would have in tomorrow because he is so good but because of all this stupid history, it's no go. That's why it's bad policy for a Deputy of a school to become the Head, they all know the person, what to expect. And before she arrived they were all speculating what she would be like.

Moreover, the Administrative Deputy who was a former colleague of Heather's from the English Department stated:

Teacher            I think the project might be hindered in what it might be able to achieve as Heather's personality may clash with some people especially some of the men on the staff who don't value very highly Heather's opinions or judgements.

I mean I like Heather a lot. I think it is good to have an individual from an institution, but only if that individual is highly valued, not necessarily in status but in personal and professional terms within the institution.

Researcher      But as the Head Teacher was on the selection panel that information must have been available before her appointment?

Teacher          From what I have heard, one of the intentions of the Swann Project was that Heather would end up working somewhere else. Certainly one of the Senior Management Team (the Curriculum Deputy) expressed that opinion to me.

Subsequently, denied by the Head Teacher as a reason for her selection, the perception that the appointment of Heather was viewed as a mechanism for her removal from the school was expressed by other members of staff and the County Co-ordinator for multicultural education. Whatever the validity of such claims, the fact that the perception existed amongst staff implicitly affected the team and in particular Heather's working environment. Similarly, as Heather had apparently previously expressed a desire for promotion, her appointment was also perceived on careerist grounds rather than due to a professional commitment to the issue. As a Head of Department commented:

Heather said that she wanted to get out and this is the way it is perceived that she has done it.

Heather was, therefore, in a 'no win' situation, perceived either as a careerist on her way up or a failure on her way out. These perceptions of her were a legacy of her previous

association with the school and may have been an important factor in shaping the process of change.

Moreover, the other team members were aware of the situation, making the working environment particularly difficult for her colleague, Rafique. As in the case of the History Department, members of staff would inform him that although they would work with him, they were not prepared to work with Heather. In other instances, for example PSE, because of his association with her, staff were not prepared to work with either of them. The existence of this environment placed enormous pressure upon their ability to work as a team. As Rafique stated:

Even though I was working with a team member who was familiar with the school, quite a lot of negative things had previously occurred between some of the teachers here and Heather. Whereas access was attempted into a lot of departments, these doors were closed because of attitudes towards her.

A difficulty for the team was in deciding whether to broach the subject with Heather. They were faced with a difficult choice; to have done so might have shattered Heather's perception of how she thought staff in the school perceived her and risked seriously undermining her self-confidence. She was asked how she viewed her relationship with staff in the school and replied:

In terms of coming from the school it has been an advantage, people know they can trust me, I don't kind of talk out of turn, I've got that kind of image in the school. I get on with most of the staff. So, from that point of view even though I am raising issues that make staff uncomfortable, they haven't rejected me as a person.

In effect, the only department in which Heather discovered she was able to attempt curriculum development work was in the English Department where she had previously taught (see section on the English Department). Clearly, unsuccessful attempts to work in other departments may not be simply attributable to her professional or personal standing in the school. Eventually, restrictions on departmental access coupled with a growing awareness that other members of staff were only communicating with Rafique, led her to believe that her position in the school outside of the English Department might well be ineffectual. Subsequently at the end of the two year research project when asked about her assignment to her old school, she commented:

I don't think I should have been in this school. I can say that categorically, I would have been better off in a different school. I've just been blocked or ignored, the work in the English Department I've enjoyed, but I've been so frustrated elsewhere in the school. Trying to do work on this issue, you soon find out who your real friends are.

Heather acknowledged that her previous professional and personal associations with the school had not assisted the work of the team in the way she had originally envisaged.

Whether another member of staff with a different personality and professional approach might have been received differently is not possible to say.

### **The Science Department**

On the commencement of the project, the climate towards curriculum development within the Science Department was already conducive to change. For example, before the team's arrival the Department was already planning a new second year syllabus. As the Head of Science said:

Teacher            A new syllabus was always on the cards. First and foremost I wanted a new second year syllabus. I desperately needed a new one as it was way out of date. Now if the team hadn't been here it would have been re-jigged anyway. As a coincidence with them being here, it seemed a logical thing to use them.

Researcher        Did you want a multicultural reworking of the syllabus?

Teacher            As long as we've had groups of children from other communities here, I've always wanted something in but I didn't know where to go looking for it, I never had the time to do it. So I welcomed their input, because they have got the time and I haven't.

In addition to the apparent pre-existing desire to re-write the second year syllabus, the Department was so seriously understaffed that non-science teachers were being used to teach second year classes. In the light of this situation and knowing that Hugh had a science background, the Head of Science was very keen to negotiate the accommodation of team members into the Department.

He was asked whether he had spoken to the Head Teacher about using the team as supply cover. He replied:

I did speak to the Head and Hugh's arm may have been twisted at some stage because we were so short of science staff, and in order to accommodate the timetable there were two or three lessons a week when we were short staffed. The only way we could see of resolving it was to ask Hugh if he wouldn't mind.

Subsequently, the team took on board second and fourth year teaching responsibilities. Hugh, a former Head of Biology, was assigned for two years to teach fourth year GCSE Biology on a predetermined syllabus. The work bore no relation to his position on the Swann team and could have been undertaken by any supply teacher. A similar case was to arise at the Grammar School where another team member, Rafique, was to take on a full-time commitment to teach A'level Physics.

The Head Teachers at both schools justified their support for utilising the team in a supply teaching capacity as a valid strategy which they claimed enhanced the team's credibility with staff and enabled them to access departments. However, as a previous section revealed, unless the team were able to negotiate their own criteria for working in a department, then they were in danger of being used inappropriately. The possibility of such situations arising re-emphasises the need to establish precise terms of reference for the project team and a clear

line management structure to ensure they are facilitated appropriately. Moreover, in relationship to the "hidden curriculum" referred to in a previous section, the Head Teachers' sanctioning of the team's use in a purely supply teaching capacity may have been transmitting implicit messages to staff regarding the project's purpose and status in the school.

In contrast to the team's Biology supply function at the Secondary School, the second year science teaching was negotiated with the Head Teacher and the Head of Department according to the project's aims. It was agreed that it would be undertaken collaboratively by the two team members and that they would develop, pilot and disseminate curriculum material prior to the department's purchase of a new second year syllabus. The team at the Secondary School were, therefore, afforded with a prime opportunity to make a lasting impression on the curriculum in the Science Department and to engender an understanding and commitment to the project by staff.

However, the team in re-writing the second year syllabus did not work collaboratively with the rest of the department or undertake an on-going evaluation of any of the material they presented. For the last year of the study, Hugh worked independently of both the team and the staff of the Science Department. The material he produced

was never discussed by the team or staff; it was simply presented to the department for staff to use as and when they pleased. The Head of Science described the situation as follows:

Hugh went away and created some booklets on the topic areas we had discussed as a Department. Unfortunately, he would just submit a booklet and because of the shortage of time, sometimes they weren't cleared through the department and therefore when we came to teach it, we would then edit some of the things and put in some others.

One thing we said at the time was that we needed to have it evaluated. Now that process, though it was evaluated unofficially, as you go through you think, "This worked, this didn't", but as a formal process of evaluation, that hasn't happened. With the material that was produced whether staff actually used it or not, or whether as a total package they dipped into it, it was up to them. I couldn't say.

In this instance, the team could be certain of the curriculum content as they had produced it. However, as in the case of the History Department, because of the lack of collaboration and evaluation, they could not be certain how it was used or even if it was being used at all.

Fullan (1982) stresses the importance of the method by which curriculum change is undertaken. He contends that the greater the involvement of staff in the innovatory process, the more likely they are to be persuaded of the need to change and for change to occur. Moreover, through participation in the curriculum development staff are more



likely to develop a sense of "ownership" (Berg and Ostergren, 1979) for the change. Berg and Ostergren (1979) identify the notion of "ownership" as a key feature in the success and maintenance of any educational innovation. The science staff had not been afforded any opportunity to become involved or to invest their time or effort into developing the material. Consequently, whatever the quality of the content, the manner in which it had been produced might have reduced the likelihood of it being "owned" by staff. A Science teacher was asked about his use of the team's material. He replied:

I can't say that using the material has changed my attitudes towards science at all. I have tended this year to stop using Hugh's material and go back to my old ways, I've gone back to a more traditional approach. The other problem is that the course has got to evolve again with the national curriculum and most of the material he has produced has become obsolete so it's a case of having to rethink the syllabus and try to incorporate some of Hugh's material.

Similarly, at the end of the study the Head of Science was asked whether the material supplied by the team had helped to develop his own thinking and what lasting contribution to the syllabus it might have made. He replied:

In terms of my own attitude to the issue of multicultural science, I don't think it did develop my thinking. In terms of where we go from here, whether we will be still using the material that Hugh developed I very much doubt. Hugh has helped us to buy some time financially and we are now hoping to buy resource material which is already published. Within the Active Science course

are looking at, there is a token look at multicultural but it is only a token. So we might include some of Hugh's material.

Interviews with all the science staff at the end of the research revealed that they had already abandoned a substantive part of Hugh's material as they were preparing for the purchase of a new syllabus. In addition, there was no indication that the staff's limited use of the material had engendered any positive change in perspective towards multicultural education. In effect, it appeared as though the team had simply been used to supply curriculum material for an out-of-date syllabus until the money to buy a new one became available. In retrospect Hugh acknowledged this fact and commented:

Hugh            I was initially just happy in the fact that I had been given access to one department. I got them to look at material with a different perspective from what they had before. My main worry now is that they don't really know why they should use it because I didn't develop it collaboratively with them. I didn't evaluate how the material was actually used. They could have used the material in totally the wrong way, that's the dilemma. I now realise that they probably took the material because they didn't have anything else. I came along and said, "Look, here's this material", and they said, "Yes, good thank you very much", and, "Goodbye".

Researcher      Why didn't you collaborate with staff and evaluate how it was being used?

Hugh            I don't know. I suppose I just never got round to it. I had tremendous difficulty in trying to identify what I was supposed to be doing as far as the issue was concerned. The difficulty has been simply to think of how you produce a piece of material. I'm still not quite sure about that.

Coming in as a curriculum development teacher to implement the Swann Report when you haven't even read it is a problem. And having to learn the process and not really knowing what on earth it's all about. That's been my problem. You set yourself up as an expert and try to lead them in a direction when you are not sure of it yourself.

In reflecting further on the situation that developed in the Science Department, Carol, Hugh's colleague at the Secondary School, remarked:

The fact that Hugh's and to an extent my practice was limited goes back to how familiar we were with multicultural or antiracist education and how comfortable and therefore confident with it. In working collaboratively it makes it difficult when you have to go into people's classrooms, which is why I think in Science he didn't and we haven't. Because if somebody was coming into my classroom, I'd want to know precisely why this practice was better than that practice or why they were saying x and not y and I think you personally have to reach a level of expertise before you have confidence to develop that sort of work with people.

The inability of the team members to identify the need to develop material collaboratively and evaluate the process was self-evident. An important factor in accounting for this was undoubtedly their admitted inexperience in the field of multicultural and antiracist educational innovation.

In the context of previous observations regarding occupational culture, the fact that one team member was a former Head of Biology facilitated the opportunity for

initiating curriculum development work with Science staff. Moreover, as the team member was working in a department which was in accord with his own area of subject specialism, one may have expected the initiation of change to have been expedited further. However, evidence suggests that while a team member's possession of subject-specific knowledge may facilitate the process of departmental access, the initiation of departmental change may require the ability of team members to relate subject-specific knowledge to the curriculum development issue. In the case of the team's work in the Science Department, while the former Head of Biology possessed subject-specific knowledge, he did not possess the experience to be able to relate that to the innovatory issue of multicultural education and racism. Nevertheless, as a result of two years' practical experience, the acquisition of greater expertise did develop amongst team members. For example, in the English Department at the Grammar School the team did endeavour to collaborate with staff on the development and delivery of new material.

### **The English Department**

The majority of the team's work in the English Department was undertaken by Heather and two English teachers who were amongst the most supportive members of staff in the school. Indeed, one of them had been offered a place on the team at the beginning of the project only to be disqualified

because she did not hold a driving licence.

Subsequently, the same member of staff during the course of the project was to be awarded an additional incentive allowance by the Head Teacher, 25% of which was to support and develop the work initiated by the Swann Project.

In the department the project team were able to introduce and develop a second year language awareness course, an Indian and Afro-Caribbean poetry module for years four and five, as well as being able to facilitate the introduction of a new A' level multicultural course work option. In encouraging the department to adopt these initiatives, Heather was able to develop and pilot material collaboratively. The English teacher with whom she worked on the language awareness module commented:

It's wonderful because we have been able to work together on bits that we have found to be too technical or boring and developed them together. I can also tell the rest of the English Department, "Now here's a good idea, why don't we all try this?"

Consequently, once these collaborative relationships were established, the team were able to count on the staff's support to re-affirm a departmental commitment and expand the development to other areas of the department. As Heather observed:

I went along to the departmental meetings and June talked about the work I was doing with her and April talked about the prospective work that I was going to do with her and the

department agreed that it was a good thing to take on board the project.

In the light of a year's experience of working collaboratively, the language awareness course was able to be modified and extended to the whole of the second year. Furthermore, the teacher who had previously worked collaboratively with Heather was able to teach the module independently, enabling Heather to work collaboratively with the remaining members of the department including the Head of English. In turn, the Head of English, through his personal and departmental collaborative involvement in the process, welcomed the curriculum development, which further helped to strengthen the work of the team. Subsequently, the Head of English was instrumental in the drafting and presentation to the examination board of a new A'level multicultural course work option. He stated:

Clearly, I feel that these changes are something which will stay with the department. There is nothing in the national curriculum that will in any way restrict us from developing these approaches and there's quite a lot to encourage them.

The long-term commitment expressed by the English Department at the Grammar School was in marked contrast to the transitional nature of the support found in the Science Department at the Secondary School. A significant contributory factor to this may have been due to the different methods by which the process of change was facilitated by team members. In particular, the

development of collaborative strategies and the subsequent "ownership" by the staff of the curriculum changes.

Whatever the error of judgement in the working relationship established with the History and Science Departments, the team ultimately came to a collective recognition that the only way to develop understanding and ownership of the issue was through team and collaborative teaching strategies.

### **The Development of Collaborative Strategies**

In the 24 ESG projects on multicultural education monitored by Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) collaboration was discovered to be the most popular approach. They state:

..the most appropriate and successful strategies were co-operative and collaborative strategies between workers and teachers. This was important on several levels. Pupils saw teachers and project staff co-operating, discussing multicultural materials and presenting the work in a mutually acceptable manner, while teachers learned to adapt to new styles of teaching and learning. It became obvious that it was impossible to discuss equality, justice, and fairness within an authoritarian, hierarchical framework of relationships in schools and classrooms. Allied to this was the realisation that active and interactive learning styles were crucial. (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988, p.174)

Although the principle of collaboration might have been readily agreed by the Swann Project team as theoretically the correct approach, the practice of working collaboratively with staff on the issue remained problematical. First, teachers in the project schools had little or no experience of working collaboratively. As a

consequence, team members found that they needed to identify members of staff who had the time and the desire to work collaboratively on the issue. As Heather stated:

Staff run to a timetable, so you have got to find the time to discuss with them possible developments. Putting together a lesson for somebody else to criticise takes one hell of a long time. You may take an hour to prepare a lesson, but it takes longer than that to work with staff so that they share, understand and appreciate the detail.

Second, and partly because of the time involved, team members were led to conclude that they could work most successfully with individuals who already shared their educational values and perspectives. As Carol and Heather remarked:

Carol                      When talking about starting to work with teachers and teaching collaboratively, their perspectives are the crucial issue.

Heather                  I think you are right, I think instinctively you identify the people that you feel share your values and they're obviously the easiest people to work with.

An element of congruency in teaching ideology and teaching perspective between team members and staff was found to be particularly important in being able to initiate collaborative methods of working. Interviews with the two teachers in the English Department with whom Heather had piloted collaborative approaches supported the analysis. Both stated they had been willing to work collaboratively with Heather because they supported the issue of



multicultural education and held similar views on how it should be approached. Hargreaves (1980) commenting on the effect of occupational culture in the context of developing professional relationships states:

Sensitivity to public performance has been a barrier to many innovations in teaching, especially team teaching, which when it does occur, is most likely to be among teachers who teach the same subject....or among those who share similar educational philosophies. (Hargreaves,1980,p.142)

If, as previously suggested, the team's presence within some departments may have been perceived by teachers as a threat to their professional independence and/or an admission of incompetency, then the same hypothesis may be applied to a rejection of working collaboratively with team members. As Carol observed:

One of the problems is that so few of the teachers have ever done anything collaboratively before. In PSE (her former teaching subject) it was quite a common approach but the problem is - and I've encountered this before - getting over the initial fear that many teachers have of letting an outsider into the classroom.

I suppose you experience it as a probationer and I'm sure some staff think that because we want to be in the classroom with them we are somehow checking on their performance as teachers.

Moreover, external factors such as media headlines proclaiming "Race Spies in Classrooms" may well accentuate the situation. In terms of being able to initiate the collaborative method, these observations may be further

grounds for suggesting that a project team presents their aims, objectives and terms of reference as unequivocally as possible.

However, the collaborative process, even with sympathetic members of staff, was still open to abuse, particularly by senior staff who had other managerial commitments. For example, the Administrative Deputy at the Grammar School (one of the English teachers referred to above) nonetheless admitted:

The first couple of lessons I team taught with Heather. Then because it was Friday morning and I teach three lessons, the fact that she took one of them made my life immensely easier and I did other things, so she took over the lesson completely.

The problem was that the team, although hoping to work collaboratively, once again found themselves alone in the classroom, providing cover for staff who took the opportunity to complete administrative tasks elsewhere in the project schools. I found that the collaborative method as a means of facilitating ownership for curriculum development might have been the most appropriate, although only initially possible where common ground in teaching perspective could be identified. A collaborative approach might, therefore, be primarily viewed as a classroom strategy for staff who already appreciate the issue, share the commitment of team members and through developing their understanding wish to develop their practice. However, once

the method has been initiated within a department and collaborative material developed and piloted, it may then be used as a staging post for further collaborative approaches with other teachers, as in the case of the Head of English at the Grammar School.

### **The Scope of the Changes Initiated within Departments**

By the end of the Autumn term 1989, the reluctance of departments at both project schools to become involved in the project had led to disillusionment and frustration for the team. The departmental curriculum development work had been virtually limited to the English Department at the Grammar School and the Science Department at the Secondary School. Moreover, given that the second year Science syllabus was due to change, it was only realistic to expect any lasting curriculum development to pertain to the English Department.

Although the evaluation was due to end in December 1989, the project in its existing form was granted an extension by the LEA until Easter 1990. The team in both schools, therefore, decided, in co-operation with the Head Teachers and in the context of the schools' policy on multicultural education, to attempt to relaunch the project at departmental level. The team at both schools drafted a letter, which was signed and distributed by the Head Teacher. The letter offered the following variety of

services to the Heads of Department which they were requested to tick and return to the Head Teacher:

My department would like the Swann Curriculum Team to...

1. Cover classes of a team member of your department where they are planning something related to the team's brief
2. Become involved in collaborative planning
3. Collaboratively teach
4. Provide resources
  - a. locate printed resources
  - b. locate speakers
  - c. create resources
5. Run courses pertaining to the team's criteria
6. Conduct an evaluation within my department
7. Provide INSET.

After two years of attempting to initiate curriculum development at departmental level, the team members in both schools were attempting to re-launch the project with only one term remaining. However, the nature of the response to the letter by the Heads of Department indicated, at best, only minimal support for the project in either school. For example, out of the 19 Heads of Department at the Grammar School only five returned the form and one of those was the English Department.

Of the remaining four, one was the History Department which ticked everything, while the remaining three, Economics, Modern Languages and Home Economics, wanted the team only

to provide resources. At the Secondary School, the numerical response was better with six of the nine Heads of Department replying. Four Departments, Craft, Design, and Technology, Humanities, Business and Information Studies and Science, requested an evaluation. Of the remaining two, the English Department requested collaborative teaching and the Creative Arts Department wanted resources.

Before a decision about the future direction of the team at the Grammar School was made, my field work period ended. Nevertheless, the fact that after two years a relaunch was necessary at both schools supported the conclusion that at departmental level the work of the project had been limited. The reluctance of departments to participate in the project in the previous two years had not been confined to one school or a handful of departments in either school (Foster, 1988), but was found to be general.

Towards the end of the second year the team, frustrated with the response by departments, believed that the Head Teachers should become more directional and coercive in getting departments to address the issue. Short and Carrington (1989) contend that coercive antiracist approaches to curriculum development have miscalculated the degree of teacher resistance to enforced change. They state:

If teachers are compelled to attend courses on race and ethnicity or feel as though they have been instructed to avoid the use of certain materials in the classroom, there is a real danger that attitudes will harden in opposition to the recommended change...if teachers are to appraise and modify their own attitudes and practices towards ethnic minority groups and reflect upon the role of the school in a multi-racial society, then consensual rather than coercive tactics should be employed to bring about the desired change. (Carrington and Short, 1989, p.236)

As previously considered, by accepting its presence in the school and in allocating the project a pastoral role, the Head Teacher's relationship to the Swann Project may indeed have been important in shaping staff perceptions. However, as Rattansi (1989) notes "the prevention of discriminatory behaviour does not necessarily challenge racist beliefs" (p.14). Consequently, while the Head Teacher might request that all departments address the issue, for attitudinal change to occur and ownership of the issue to be engendered through team-staff collaboration, the process might need to be based on a perceived need by teachers to change rather than by an enforced commitment to change (Carrington and Short, 1989). (A situation where a Head Teacher may feel it necessary to enforce change will be considered in the next chapter on the development of a whole-school policy).

The reluctance of staff to engage in the project emphasises the point made in the Swann Report (DES, 1985) that curriculum development should be primarily concerned with

the process of change, rather than the introduction of curriculum materials. The primary aim is to establish and maintain the commitment, understanding and operation of staff according to the ideology and perspective which informs the initiative. Although part of the process may involve the collaborative development of materials, the main curriculum resource that can be developed is the teachers themselves.

### **Conclusion**

In attempting to keep a low profile, the team's initial unstructured approach to the Heads of Department resulted in an unclear perception of the team's role accompanied by suspicion and hostility. The response was in part due to the fact that the staff had neither been consulted nor prepared in depth for the team's arrival. Furthermore, the informal meetings with the Heads of Department provided very little qualitative data in terms of the staff's teaching ideology and perspective (Sharp and Green, 1975) on which to base an appraisal for developing future departmental approaches. A more appropriate strategy might have been for the team to have offered a clearer definition of their role and to have utilised the meetings as semi-structured qualitative interviews. In so doing the team might have facilitated the evaluation of future strategies more precisely and consistently. In effect, following the interviews with the Heads of Department team

members found themselves being used for general teaching duties which bore very little relation to the aims of the project.

The research findings suggested that the ability to operate as a team might have required the formulation of a team ideology and perspective to ensure that the definition of the problem and the direction of curriculum development was collectively appreciated and acted upon. The team's subsequent inability to develop a shared ideology and perspective ultimately resulted in the disintegration of a team approach. Part of the onus for this may reside with the LEA's recruitment and selection procedures which led to the appointment of individual team members whose teaching ideologies and perspectives did not predispose them to developing a team approach.

Although the study indicated that Heads of Department who generally supported the principle of educational innovation were likely to present themselves as the most supportive, it also suggested that these individuals were also those most likely to leave the school on the grounds of career development (Huberman and Miles, 1984). The research therefore considered that a team may well be advised to identify and expand its support amongst departmental staff at the earliest possible opportunity. The research further highlighted the problem of curriculum development



initiatives being replaced by new Heads of Department and suggested that the development of departmental and whole-school policies may take account of this fact.

The research also considered the pastoral and PSE focus afforded the project and the hypothesis that this may have made it more difficult for teachers to regard the project as important departmentally. It was suggested that as pastoral care and PSE focused upon the needs of pupils and were perceived as fulfilling a role which had formally been the responsibility of parents so the project and the issue of racism were seen primarily as relevant neither to the professional practice of teachers nor the institution of the school. In addition, it was considered that the reluctance of teachers to acknowledge the relevance of the project was related to the notion of occupational culture (Hargreaves, 1980), with teachers perhaps considering the approach of the team as an implied criticism of their existing practice. Moreover, by allowing the team departmental access to develop the curriculum, further credence was awarded to the notion of professional incompetency. In facilitating access in this climate, the team found the most appropriate approach was through emphasising their subject-specialist backgrounds

In terms of initiating departmental change the team found that it was an advantage for the Head of History to have

had previous experience of addressing the innovatory issue. Nevertheless, any change in the curriculum was only achievable on the understanding that it was developed in accordance with the Head of History's professional criteria for what constituted 'good history'. However, following initial consultation, the team relinquished any further contact with the department. As a consequence of this the impetus for change was lost and the project became a peripheral concern of the department. The team's inability to offer more support and guidance was attributed to pressure from working on the development of a whole-school policy and the reluctance of the Head of Department to work with members of the team.

It was subsequently revealed that the appointment to the team of a teacher who had former connections with the Grammar School may have restricted the initiation of departmental change. The controversial nature of the innovatory task plus a professional and personal background in the school was not considered by the team, including the teacher in question, to have been a positive factor in initiating change.

The team recognised that any curriculum development work required on-going collaboration with the staff concerned; the absence of collaboration being a feature of the team's work within both the History and the Science Departments.

As a consequence of this, it was later discovered that the Science Department had very little professional commitment to the material which was to be replaced as soon as a new syllabus could be requisitioned. In reference to departmental access being facilitated through the subject-specific knowledge of team members, the work by a former Head of Biology in the Science Department suggested that in initiating change, team members also required the ability to relate that subject knowledge to the innovatory issue.

The value of working collaboratively was highlighted through the team's later work within the English Department at the Grammar School. It resulted in changes to the second year syllabus as well as the introduction of a multicultural course work option at A' level. The initial work within the department clearly benefited from a team member's former teaching association, coupled with the presence within the department of two of the most supportive members of staff. The Head of English's subsequent conversion to supporting the notion of multicultural education highlighted the possibility of initially working with less senior members of departments and the value of team-teacher collaboration. The research suggested that the ability to work collaboratively in the initial stage of a project may be limited to those teachers who already share a professional commitment towards

collaborative teaching and addressing the issue of racism in their classroom practice. In this respect the notion of occupational culture was once again introduced possibly to account for the reluctance of staff to work collaboratively. Moreover, the study revealed that at the end of two years the reluctance of staff to involve the team in departmental curriculum development remained pervasive. The next chapter considers the process of change in relation to the development of a whole-school policy on 'race'.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE SWANN PROJECT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WHOLE-SCHOOL POLICY

#### Introduction

The conceptual debate presented in chapter one revealed how a degree of consensus existed between proponents of multicultural and antiracist education on the need to develop an overall whole-school strategy (Banks, 1986; Lynch, 1990). As Troyna (1988) notes:

Such policies formalise and enshrine particular approaches and practices and provide the framework within which teachers might operate collaboratively in their attempts to mitigate racism.  
(Troyna, 1988, p. 161)

However, due to insufficient empirically-based research, multicultural and antiracist prescriptions for whole-school change have not necessarily been based on examples of good practice. In January 1986 the LEA endorsed a multicultural policy statement which expected the Authority's schools to produce their own multicultural policy statements and to monitor their practical implementation. At the start of the Swann Project in January 1988 neither the Secondary nor the Grammar School possessed a statement on multicultural education. Consequently, the development of a whole-school policy was to become a primary task of the team. I was therefore in the fortunate position of being able to

observe and document the innovatory process as it evolved and developed over two years (see also Troyna,1988).

In this chapter I attempt to reconstruct in chronological order some of the salient events encountered by the team in facilitating that development with staff. In part one I consider the formulation of the policy. I examine the perspectives of staff towards the development as a response to their participation in a staff meeting on the project and the working party in-service programme that was to follow. In part two I focus on the issues raised in relation to the adoption and implementation of a whole-school policy.

In presenting the research, I have attempted to contextualise the study in relation to the existing prescriptive recommendations for whole-school policy development (the National Union of Teachers (NUT) 1989, the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) 1989, and the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (AMMA) 1989). Furthermore, as variables which impinged upon the process of departmental curriculum development might also be pertinent at the level of the whole-school so I refer back to arguments and literature cited in the previous chapter.

## PART ONE: THE FORMULATION OF A WHOLE-SCHOOL POLICY

In terms of introducing the issue of multicultural and antiracist education in the form of a whole-school policy, commentators (Mitchell,1984; Hopkin,1988; Troyna,1988) recognise the value of school-centred in-service training for teachers (INSET). What is meant by a school-centred approach in this context can be classified by Ruddock (1981) who defines it as encompassing:

..both 'school-based' activity, a mode of in-service education which takes place on the school premises, and 'school-focused' activity, a mode which accepts that the professional requirements of the school and the staff as a whole provide a focal point around which a whole programme of in-service work is planned. (Ruddock,1981, cited in Easen,1985,p.ix)

The supposition is that as school-centred INSET "is more immediate, then it is likely to be more effective" (Easen,1985,p.ix). Easen (1985) suggests that because the problems and experiences of teachers relate to factors generated within their working environment so the "resolution of such problems has to evolve within the web of specific factors" (Easen,1985,p.xi). Similarly, in relation to multicultural and antiracist education, Hopkin (1988) argues that the most productive policies for implementing change are those which in the process of formulation utilise the existing beliefs and skills of staff through school-centred INSET. He suggests the approach provides:

..considerable advantages for promoting change: it is participatory, democratic, relatively autonomous and bases learning at the level which individuals and institutions have reached. (Hopkin,1988,p.22)

(Chapter six on departmental change highlighted the possible importance of team-staff collaboration in curriculum development.) Troyna (1988) suggests that a similar degree of staff collaboration might be necessary when it comes to the development of whole-school initiatives. He states:

..any policies are likely to have only a partial and limited impact on the general ethos and habitual practices of the school unless those involved in their implementation also participate in their formulation. (Troyna,1988,p.161)

The Deputy Head at the Grammar School made a similar point when he remarked:

In mainstream educational innovation you can be directive and say, "We have got to do this because the government says so". However, with something like this that's a more philosophical issue and has moral ramifications, as well as being controversial, you can't be so directional and you have to maintain an element of ownership. That means involving the staff.

The Swann Report (DES,1985) believed that school-centred activities had a key role to play in influencing those teachers who were less likely to attend voluntarily an out of school in-service course. In this respect, as Little and Willey (1981) suggest, the problem of attracting to in-service programmes those who might require them most is



overcome. In facilitating school-centred INSET, one might no longer be simply "preaching to the converted" (Little and Willey, 1981).

The project team in their attempts to facilitate the formulation of whole-school policies used a combination of school-centred in-service approaches. In widening the parameters of change from the departmental to the whole-school, difficulties previously encountered by the team were also likely to be amplified. Boyd (1985) reflects on the difficult task in the following terms:

..how one achieves the aim of persuading a school staff made up of subject specialists with boundary maintenance, a high priority of "restricted" and "extended" professionals, of people with fundamentally different ideas of the aim of education, to work together to produce effective whole-school policies. (Boyd, 1985, p.80)

Troyna (1988) in his case study on the development of a whole-school policy also cites the work of Boyd (1985). Troyna suggests that "cautionary comments" (p.161) such as Boyd's might be perceived by proponents of antiracism as either an irrelevancy or a smoke screen to divert initiators of change from the innovatory task. Troyna adds that organisational limitations like those suggested by Boyd might be considered examples of institutional racism since they restrict policy development.

Moreover, he goes on to state that individuals who cite these variables as 'explanations' are themselves colluding with racist institutional processes.

In concurring with the mitigating argument of Troyna, I believe an important distinction needs to be made between identifying variables which might impede the curriculum development process and presenting them as a rationale for inaction. For example, in the case of the Swann Project whereas at departmental level the team had been negotiating with the Head of Department and perhaps several departmental staff, at the whole-school level as the Deputy Head at the Secondary School observed :

There are 50 people on the staff some who would never, never, never discriminate against any child, others who would, and all shades in between.

Similarly, a teacher at the Grammar School remarked:

You're dealing with 40 or 50 different professionals and the team's approach to training should have been planned and presented carefully.

The task of negotiating the process of whole-school change, given the divergent perspectives and professional backgrounds of staff, was clearly a difficult one (Boyd, 1985). While I do not want to "underestimate or deflect attention from the powerful role assumed by teacher racism in the process of race-related policy formulation

and implementation"(Troyna,1988,p.162), I believe that it is only through identifying and presenting all the variables which may have had an effect on the work of the project team that successful multicultural and antiracist strategies might be developed.

The immediate question facing the team was how to facilitate an in-service programme which would engender, at least amongst a sizeable minority, the desire to develop the innovatory issue further without losing the support of the majority of staff. The difficulty of the task, however, might have been compounded by the team themselves. As in the case of departmental curriculum development, in approaching the in-service sessions, they had no collective definition of the problem nor how it should be resolved and only a very limited understanding of where staff stood in relation to the issue. Equally, the situation may have been exacerbated by the LEA who maintained the perspective of preferring the team to find their own way rather than provide any direction and guidance.

Furthermore, as Gaine (1987) reflects, while "a policy confers some legitimacy on the debate, some degree of legitimacy has to be established in the first place for there even to be a policy" (p.125). As neither of the project schools had previously considered the question of multicultural education, the team was expected to start

from basics in engendering a whole-school understanding and commitment. In reflecting on the task of facilitating the formulation of a whole-school policy, the team members at the Secondary School summed up the situation in the following terms:

Carol                    I came in thinking there would have been more groundwork, awareness among staff and commitment to fundamental change. I was naive in that respect. I was also naive enough to think there would be adequate back up from the LEA. I was equally naive to think, and this is not an insult to team members, but that people with whom you would be working would actually know what they were doing and they don't and I include myself in that. I think if we had been clearer about what we want, and how we work together as a team, I think INSET is something we could have felt more comfortable and confident doing. Unfortunately, I think we are still insecure about dealing with the issue.

Hugh                    I agree with you, this was the problem in the recruitment and selection procedures and the lack of clarity as to what the project is supposed to be about.

In the first term of the project the Head Teachers at each of the schools allocated a staff meeting for the team to introduce both the project and the idea of developing a whole-school multicultural policy.

#### **In-Service Provision: The Swann Project Staff Meetings**

The team members at the Secondary School used their staff in-service meeting as an opportunity to introduce the Swann Report (DES,1985). The team reproduced a list of the report's recommendations and asked the staff, by working in

groups, to specify whether they agreed, disagreed or were unsure about the statements. An indication of the response by staff to the in-service session is illustrated in the following teacher's comments:

Those questions were so worded on first reflection you had to agree with everything. I would like the questionnaire to be re-worded completely so that it wasn't so biased on the other side. I would have liked a more intelligent phraseology of the questions, the way it was done you couldn't help but agree. For example, one of the questions made the assumption that we live in a multi-cultural society.

Oh yes, well, then somebody else says hang on, there are only 3% of them in Britain. Perhaps we live in a white British society with a lot of minority cultures. So it makes you look at the questions twice. And people felt threatened because it is our culture and I don't want to lose our culture. I agree with them having their culture, but as I say it's our country and we are by far the majority. I object to the fact that the team can come in here and tell us what we should be looking at, implying we are racist and ramming any policy down our throats.

The suggestion that racism should be dealt with in a specific policy statement was considered by some staff as a threat to the existing dominant 'white' British culture in the school. They did not countenance the whole-school relevancy of a policy statement and saw the exercise as solely "for the black pupils" and against the white. This was to be further reflected in the staff's desire that "they" (the black students) should not be accorded undue significance in any school policy.

For example, objections were raised about specific reference to racial harassment, physical attacks and abusive language. As the following comment from a teacher illustrates:

The policy said all racist graffiti should be rubbed out on the school walls. I violently object to that, why should we just deal with graffiti which is just against them? Why should they have special provision?

Another teacher, who was later to define the proposed Secondary School policy statement as an "Asian Document", commented:

I felt that people were wary that we would actually be going too far in the other direction, that we would be seen to be bending over backwards in recognition of what after all is a minority and that that would have a detrimental effect on us who are the majority.

I also resent the fact that they (the team) can come in here and give us these exercises to do as if somehow we are racist. I think all the teachers in this school treat pupils fairly and we certainly wouldn't discriminate against them because of their colour. I find it insulting that anyone might suggest otherwise.

The response of teachers towards the staff meeting might be considered in several, possibly interrelated, ways. First, aspects of these perceptions accord with "the new racism" (Barker, 1981) which views culture as unchanging and impermeable, objecting to multicultural and antiracist initiatives on the grounds of the incongruency between dominant 'British' culture and minority 'alien' cultures,

in particular those which are Asian and Afro-Caribbean. The existence of racism is denied and an implicit justification for the continuance of racism and racial discrimination is provided in terms of cultural difference and numerical dominance (Barker,1981). Similarly, while the notion that all graffiti should be removed might be commendable, it is rationalised in the context of discourse which might be interpreted as making implicitly 'racial' distinctions between what is considered "special provision" for "them" (the black students) and the rest of the school (Billig et al,1988) (see also chapter eight).

Second, the response of teachers might also relate to their occupational culture, in particular "the cult of individualism" (Hargreaves,1980) which in the previous chapter was identified as presiding amongst staff in the schools. Staff, therefore, perceived the team, their presence in the school and their delivery of an in-service session on the need for a whole-school policy as further questioning their professional independence and competence (Troyna,1988). The defensiveness of teachers concerning their existing practice is further heightened by the controversial nature of the innovatory issue (Kelly,1985). The response might therefore be taken in the Secondary School to "constitute strategies of resistance to the perceived challenge to these teachers' competence in ensuring equality of treatment for all their students"

(Troyna,1988,p.174). The teachers thus did not perceive themselves or their arguments as racist, rather the implied suggestion of racism arising from the in-service session invoked a hostile response.

Third, the response might therefore relate to the team's approach. The staff in-service meeting was held at the stage of the project's development corresponding to its initial introduction into the school. At that time the team had not fully developed their own thinking on 'race' and education, and as Carol and Hugh stated previously, they were unclear as to how they might approach in-service sessions. Furthermore, because team members could not agree a common approach, in the course of facilitating the in-service provision, individual team members offered divergent perspectives. For example, at the conclusion of the staff in-service meeting at which Carol and Hugh had both spoken about the project and racism, a teacher was led to remark:

I'm totally confused, are they saying black people can't be racist. I listen to one team member who seems to be saying that only whites can be racist and then another comes in and says,"No our black kids can be racist towards the whites", so what is it?



Another teacher commented:

In this school it's not white against black it's black against the Asians, that's the trouble, but when I raised that at the meeting Carol said that wasn't racism and then I talk to Hugh about this after the meeting and he says, "Yes, I know that's racism, but we are talking about black and white".

The team's adoption of the principle of collective responsibility meant that each perspective at the time of its presentation was afforded equal validity. Moreover, questions concerning whether black people can be racist and the manifestation of Asian and Afro-Caribbean rivalries are precisely those which studies, such as Tomlinson and Coulson's (1988), have identified as "red herrings" (p.186) offered by teachers as a denial of white racism and reasons for not undertaking multicultural curriculum development. Rather than clarifying the staff's understanding of racism, multicultural education and the role of the team, the in-service programme offered at the staff meeting tended to add to their confusion. Since "much misunderstanding and polarisation of attitudes arises from confusion about terminology and labels" (NUT, 1989 preface), the response by teachers might in part be attributable to the team's insensitive and unclear handling of the in-service session. Rattansi (1991) observes that individuals:

...might find it threatening and distressing if what they take to be a perfectly reasonable type of practice - for example, treating people in a 'colour-blind' manner - is denounced by some as a form of racism. (Rattansi, 1991, p.2)

A similar predicament was encountered by the team at the Grammar School. The team, as part of their facilitation of an INSET programme, decided to interview the six black pupils who attended the school. The intention was to record their experiences of racism within both the school and the wider community, and for the team then to play the recordings back at the staff meeting. The team hoped that this approach would persuade those teachers who had previously claimed that there was no racism in the school to recognise its existence.

Following an initial introduction, at which the team explained that the meeting was intended as the first step towards developing a whole-school policy, a team member explained to staff:

What I would like to do is to share a recording of a student's experiences at the Grammar School. This is one of several discussions that we have had recorded with a number of students. Some of them were very emotive, resulting in one lad breaking down and crying. In this particular case the student concerned had agreed to us sharing his experiences with you. He trusted us to use it in situations which we thought appropriate.

A recording of an interview between a team member and a male Chinese fifth former was played to staff. The following is an abridged version of the interview:

Team	Have you had to suffer any insults at the Grammar School?
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Pupil Yes, from some people here and there, basically the most common one is name calling. I don't really mind that so much, but what I don't like is some people it's within them but they don't show it. You know that they are prejudiced against you and that really bugs me. When you come face to face with them they act very nice but behind your back they say all kinds of things that really hurt me.

Team How do you know?

Pupil Well, one of them who I thought was a friend, I borrowed his notes and noticed on his file racist comments. There was a lot of racist things on it.

Team Can you tell me some of the names people have called you?

Pupil Paki, Black Bastard, Nigger, all sorts really.

Team How do you feel when people say things like that?

Pupil Well, my initial reaction would be one of anger. But when I first came here I didn't want to get into trouble and I wanted to stay clear of it. So I just said to myself they are just small-minded people they can't harm me.

But sometimes I get really worked up and once I hit somebody. I felt bad about that. And sometimes if I'm working with my friends they start telling racist jokes or something and one of them might say something and the rest will say "Oh he's okay he's one of us" and that really annoys me.

Team Have you ever come across the National Front?

Pupil Yes, once I went to this local concert and I didn't know the band was supported by skinheads and the National Front. I just went to the toilet and one guy in there said "Go back where you came from." I said I will once I have finished my studies. He said "Why don't you fuck off back there now, to where you came from." I said it would be a bit difficult to go back to my mother's womb a second time. He hit me and then a few more of

his friends all started hitting me. I tried to defend myself but it was only when this big guy came in and stopped them that I was able to get out.

Once the recording of the interview was over, the staff were offered copies of policy statements adopted by schools from other Authorities and divided into groups to discuss the possible content of the Grammar School statement.

Gaine (1987) prescribes certain in-service strategies for the development of whole-school policies in predominantly white schools. An approach he recommends is the use of a tape-recorded interview of a black pupil's experiences in the school being shared with staff. He states, "It requires a lot of trust on the part of the black pupil to do this, but it is hard for staff to argue with" (p.137). The response by the staff at the Grammar School was therefore particularly interesting. At the end of the session the team were confronted by six members of staff incensed by the usage of the interview. One Head of Department questioned both the objectivity of the team and the sincerity of the interviewee, she claimed:

I didn't feel particularly comfortable with the taped interviews. Taking a very cynical view about the nature of kids, they perform beautifully. If you are experienced you can get a kid to say anything.

These opinions were supported by another Head of Department who stated:

The taping to a large extent seemed set up for him to express those views. To get him in a corner and effectively put a tape recorder under his nose and place him under pressure like that, it's not real and it's wrong.

Other members of staff accepted the pupil's comments, but believed that they were misleading in-so-far as equally distressing experiences could have been related about other kinds of discrimination. For example, one member of staff commented:

I was so angry about the whole set up because I thought the children had been conned into talking about only one thing. I decided that if you'd given it to any of the fat children in school and said, "Have you ever been picked on as a fat child?", the answer would have been, "Yes", "Have you ever been called spotty because you've got spots?" - the answer would be, "Yes", and if you push them hard enough you get any group to admit to it. So I think the lad had been provoked and I just thought the whole thing an absolute con. I mean I think it was a very cheap trick.

Similar critical responses were obtained from other staff. For example, when asked whether the issue of racism had ever come to her attention, the pastoral Deputy Head replied:

Teacher            No, no not at all.

Researcher        So how did you feel about the tape played during the INSET?

Teacher            It seemed to me that most of the comments that were being made from the tape were of events that happened out of the school or

were of events that had happened when he was much younger. Whilst it is something that we ought to be aware of, you could ask a child about whether they're picked on because they wore glasses or picked on because they have spots or are overweight and I think we would have got the same response.

I think from a pupil's point of view, it would be equally hurtful whatever they're feeling different about. To some extent I think if it's racism you've almost got a defence, you can actually be proud of being Caribbean or Chinese or whatever. It is very difficult to feel proud of having spots or being fat or wearing glasses. I think it might be worse for a pupil who has got a physical disability like that rather than just a cultural problem.

Clearly, the facilitation of an in-service meeting which might have enabled staff to differentiate between different forms of discrimination was the responsibility of the team. Therefore, as discussed in the case of the Secondary School, the response of staff might have been in part due to the way the team conducted the in-service meeting. As this comment from a teacher at the Grammar School illustrates:

The problem is I think everybody remains a bit mystified really as to what the project was all about and they still are. I don't think it has been sold very well at all. They should have presented it a lot better. As a consequence I think it is going to end up just being one of those things that will wave over the school and be waved good-bye.

Equally, however, the response obtained might relate to strategies of resistance already discussed in relation to the Secondary School (Troyna, 1988). In this instance,

however, the presence of the team and their recommendations for change might simply not have been perceived by teachers as potentially threatening to their professional autonomy or criticising their competence. The in-service session, however, might have been perceived as having implicitly done so. As Hargreaves (1980) states, "Like sexual activity, teaching is seen as an intimate act which is most effectively and properly conducted in privacy" (p.141). Similarly, as one's sexual performance is not open for public scrutiny, so according to Hargreaves a teacher's classroom practice is rarely observed or evaluated. He states:

In a very real sense the teacher becomes accountable to himself (sic), which breeds both security and insecurity. If it prevents teachers from criticising one another it also makes it more difficult to praise one another as well. It reinforces the competence anxieties which it also protects.  
(Hargreaves, 1980, p.142)

He contends that unlike other professions, such as doctors and lawyers, direct forms of feedback are rare and teachers therefore generally rely upon their own intuitive judgement as to the general standard of their professional practice or what constituted a good or bad lesson. In addition, feedback from former pupils might occasionally provide an indication of their professional ability. As Hargreaves notes:

..many teachers interpret their work as 'sowing seeds' and for this reason are enormously gratified when former pupils return to express their thanks for their education or become known locally or nationally as successful people. Teachers take a special pride in such events because they believe they have made their own contribution to the achievement.  
(Hargreaves, 1980, p.136)

The team in managing to record an interview with a pupil about his experiences in the school had to a degree circumvented the "cult of individualism" which normally acted as a cultural guard against access from outside intrusion. Moreover, in playing back to staff the pupil's experiences of racism within the school, rather than contributing towards a feeling of achievement, they implicitly criticised the professional competence of teachers within the school for allowing such a situation to arise. The validity of the pupil's experiences of racism was not acknowledged as staff preferred to consider the taping as unethical, methodologically invalid and misleading.

The Deputy Head rightly pointed out that some of the comments referred to events out of school and to events prior to the pupil's arrival at the school. The whole thrust of these remarks however is to tone down the within-school problem and thus to deny the possibility that racism should have been and might need to be a specific issue the school needs to be addressing. Subsequently, while acknowledging that staff may need to be aware of



racism, she contends that it is very similar to any other form of discrimination, and may actually be less harmful than abuse concerning, for example being overweight or having spots. In effect by combining these issues, teachers might have been managing what they perceived as assaults upon their existing professional practice by marginalising them.

Moreover, to compare the pupil's experiences of racism with victimisation associated with having spots or being overweight is to misunderstand and implicitly to further marginalise the degree and nature of racial violence and harassment experienced by black people (CRE,1987). It also neglects the associated history and institutional processes which have resulted in black people experiencing discrimination in employment, health, housing and education (Newnham and Gordon,1984).

A related strategy used by staff which aimed to resist the formulation of a whole-school policy is illustrated by the further remarks of the pastoral Deputy Head at the Grammar School. She stated:

My fear with the Swann Project was that they (the team) may be making us focus on things that otherwise we wouldn't really notice. There may be the odd racist or some other comment here and there which would go unnoticed and the majority of people would forget about. Now if you start to focus on them, you are in fact going to increase their incidence rather than diminish them. We

simply need to provide a general caring environment for all children rather than any specific statement which only highlights a particular problem.

A Head of Department at the Grammar School also remarked :

We felt that there was a danger perhaps of drawing too much attention to the issue by that sort of up-front assertive approach and that one can perhaps raise devils that perhaps are better sort of left in peace - that you can create problems rather than solve them by drawing unnecessary attention to it.

The belief was that to bring to light examples of racism might simply create problems that might otherwise never have surfaced. The underlying assumption was that the issue was largely created by the attempt to address it (see also Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988). If this were the case then the need to formulate and implement a multicultural whole-school policy might not only be unnecessary but counter-productive.

A similar rationale was offered by teachers at the Secondary School. In this instance, however, giving racism a higher profile through a whole-school policy was perceived as a potential threat to their professional survival (Woods, 1979; Foster, 1990). This perception relates back to comments made by the Head Teacher previously cited in chapter five; in differentiating between the working environment in his school and that in the Grammar School, he observed:

I think we live the issues having a 30% ethnic minority, it's not like the Grammar School where they are really at the debate and philosophical level, we are not, we live this every day and if we make an error or we make a bad judgement or something happens which is traumatic we have got to live with it.

In the term prior to the project, a boy from the Secondary School had been stabbed to death. As a consequence, teachers were exceedingly apprehensive about "their own safety and their relationship with pupils in what was already a potentially confrontational environment". The dominant view was that although the pastoral system was "keeping the lid on" the school, discipline was getting worse; a deterioration which they equated with the recent increase in the number of Asian pupils entering the fourth year.

Consequently, the increasing difficulties in maintaining classroom discipline and control, and potentially confrontational teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil relationships were not only deteriorating but in being conflated with Asian pupils had been "racialised". Foster (1990) notes that the professional task of teaching necessitates two interrelated sub-roles; "the establishment of order and discipline and the organisation of instruction and learning, the latter being almost impossible without the former"

(Foster, 1990, p.157) (see also Hargreaves, 1975). In the Secondary School staff might, therefore, have been facing a

challenge to their conception of themselves as competent professional teachers (Foster,1990). In effect, they might have been experiencing what Foster (1990) termed a "survival threat" (see also Woods,1979; Riseborough,1985).

Moreover, in this instance, the Asian pupils, and by implication the issue of 'race' and education, was perceived as an integral part of that 'threat'. Staff were therefore exceedingly wary of addressing manifestations of racism in case they made what they perceived as a precarious situation even worse. As the following comment by a Head of Department on his classroom practice illustrates:

If there are sorts of racist statements made by pupils, I think the natural reaction is not step out and confront the issue but to try and ignore it and try not to inflame the situation.

Teachers were concerned that the formulation of a multicultural policy might create more discipline problems rather than alleviate them. As a consequence the decision not to highlight the issue of racism was an important part of their survival strategy. For example, another Head of Department suggested this as the reason why the school had not previously undertaken any multicultural initiatives, she stated:

I don't think we've done anything because I think there is a big cover up job going on, you know there is a sort of gloss of

friendship between students. Staff perceive the relationship as a gloss but have the opinion that to raise the issue of racism in many ways is to create more problems than it is to solve.

The senior Deputy Head at the Secondary School was also aware of staff's concerns over the formulation and implementation of a multicultural policy and commented:

I was worried that had the policy been too antiracist, it would have upset too many staff and caused more troubles than not. The problem is getting a policy which isn't going to ruffle too many feathers. I'm not sure, maybe I am a coward on this, I don't know.

The recommendation that a whole-school policy would highlight the issue of racism within the school might therefore have been perceived as challenging and threatening to undermine the staff's existing survival strategies. Indeed, in as much as the in-service programme had engendered feelings that the policy was "for the black students" so any policy might have been rationalised as part of the "survival threat" and further reinforced resistance. It might also help to explain why, in comparison to the Grammar School, the formulation and adoption of a whole-school policy was to be particularly difficult to achieve with staff at the Secondary School (see later in the chapter).

It is clear from the response by staff at both schools that they were reluctant to formulate a whole-school policy which might specifically address the issue of racism. Whether the reasons for this reluctance derive from the approach of the project team, the occupational culture of teachers, teacher racism or simply the fact that teachers held a diversity of views about the issue, it is impossible to say. Nevertheless, whatever the reason for their reluctance, whilst they continued to restrict the development of a whole-school policy, racist beliefs and institutional procedures remained largely unattended. As Troyna (1988) who discovered a similar degree of teacher resistance towards policy development remarked, "Its manifestation cannot and must not be underplayed" (p.171).

Gaine (1987) suggests that in developing a whole-school policy, it should be made explicit and non-negotiable that the issue to be addressed is that of racism. He states:

..there is no real option other than to define the issue as racism and to define the school's task as responding to it. This is a negative and threatening educational task to present to people..but..teachers do not really get to grips with a new multicultural curriculum until they have recognised the racism of the old one. (Gaine,1987,p.124)

The benefits of such an approach were recognised by one teacher at the Secondary School who stated:

I think the project should have, even if it had caused a tremendous amount of, I won't say bad feelings but strong vibes, open

comments, the staff should have actually got to tackle racism in open discussion. It had to be done up-front, face on, no covers, no covering up. We can't go on running away from it, covering up and hoping it all goes away, we've got to look at what is happening and as adults we have got to face that. Because if you don't and we have to write an antiracist policy then it doesn't become the school's antiracist policy, it becomes someone's superimposed one. And we all know the dangers in that. There has got to be a stronger, more aware group of staff to carry things forward, otherwise it will just become the way we were and filter down to nothing because not enough staff have become part of the real issue.

This does not mean that there could be no awareness or discussion of the similarities and differences between different forms of discrimination, or of the difficulties of completely disentangling the forms and effects of racism from other types of discrimination in the process of policy formulation (Rattansi,1991). It is rather a matter of agreeing a common focus of concern. In this way a multicultural (or antiracist) policy might be formulated, which as the NUT (1989) suggests:

..will form part of the school's overall equal opportunities policy which addresses the many inequalities of society (such as those based on gender, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation and social class). Pupils need to be able to explore ways in which these inequalities interrelate.  
(NUT,1989,Introduction)

INSET programmes might, therefore, aim to assist staff (and through them pupils) in the recognition of the different manifestations of racism and how they might be operating

within both themselves and the school. Of course a policy of greater directness with regard to racism (Brandt,1986) and a facilitation of increased staff understanding might have required from the team a shared understanding and clear presentation of the issue. However, the opportunity for staff to consider the formulation of a whole-school policy was not limited to a staff in-service meeting. Gaine (1987) suggests that the first indication that a school is taking the issue of multicultural education seriously is the establishment of a multicultural working party and it is this aspect of the policy formulation process I consider next.

#### **In-service Provision: The Multicultural Working Parties**

An INSET model commonly adopted in schools is one where in response to senior management or interested staff, a decision is taken to form a working party which formulates policy and feeds back to the staff for discussion and implementation (Mitchell,1988). In the case of the Swann Project, working parties were established at both the Secondary and the Grammar School to facilitate the development of the whole-school policies. Initially membership of the working party at the Secondary School was intended to be based on interest rather than direction.



At the end of the staff in-service meeting, teachers were informed that a group was being created to discuss the matter further. The team subsequently advertised the working party through the staff pigeon holes and relied on staff commitment to participate voluntarily. However, the sessions were extremely poorly attended. A member of staff who did attend commented:

The in-service work the team wanted to do has not taken off. They set up a voluntary meeting every Wednesday evening and at the most there has only ever been four members of staff. Most of the time it has been two people who turned up. It hasn't taken off. Now does that say something about the school? It could be that teachers have got so many meetings they go to, they can't cope with another one that is not directed time. It might be that the subject is not considered to be important enough. Or, it may be that people think, "I just don't want to be stirred up".

Whatever the reason, the effect was the same: at a whole-school level, staff were not engaging in the issue of racism. The team faced an awkward predicament, namely how to develop not only a policy but also an understanding and a shared commitment amongst staff when they were reluctant to attend the in-service working party initiated for that specific purpose (NUT,1989). Subsequently, due to the continued poor attendance, the meetings were abandoned after three sessions and it was decided in consultation with the Head Teacher that a formally directed working party would be established at the beginning of the school year in September 1988.

The multicultural working party at the Secondary School was one of five within the school created to look at different aspects of educational practice. The members of all the working parties were nominated by the Head Teacher, although in the case of the multicultural working party this was decided in consultation with the project team. In selecting members, an attempt was made to include staff members who were perceived as having some professional relationship with the issue, for example as Section 11 teachers, or having previously attended a multicultural INSET. Although the choice was limited, a group of ten individuals was selected who the team and the Head Teacher believed had the best chance of formulating a whole-school policy.

However, despite these attempts to ensure that some productive discourse would occur, as Hopkin (1988) notes, a working party may be small yet the degree of understanding and expertise amongst working party members can vary enormously. In the case of the Secondary School, this led to problems. As a senior teacher observed:

The Head selected a group that he thought would be able to put some positive thought into it. It was very sticky. It was the hardest working party I've ever been on because it didn't matter what was said, it brought up really quite deep problems and some people saw problems in things which other people said, "Oh well, it's obvious".

A Head of Department who was a member of the working party also remarked:

I felt somewhere in the middle in terms of the sort of the awareness I brought with me to the working party. I felt that there were other members of the working party who weren't really sort of past first base, as far as considering the issues were concerned. I also felt that the team were completely fixed on the furthest edge of it. I don't know how to put this but it was difficult to say anything without you feeling that they were thinking, "Oh, yes". At one particular point I remember I disagreed with something and I saw a team member write a big arrow, "So and so disagrees", which seemed a bit judgemental and was very off-putting.

The controversial nature of the issue and the sensitivity of staff towards it, suggested that the team may have needed to possess group-work skills in order to facilitate the process of change. However, as team members were unsure about their own role and unclear about the issue, they were unable to offer any clear guidance or direction. For example, at the first meeting of the working party, staff began by considering the terminology that they would use in a school policy statement. For the purposes of facilitating the discussion, the team used extracts from Twitchen's book 'Multicultural Education' (1985). Staff were presented with ten definitions of prejudice, which, although different were intended to be of equal validity. However, rather than use the definitions as an aid to understanding and discussing the complex nature of the issue, the team allowed the working party to operate under

the implicit assumption that they had to choose one definition, which they believed to be most appropriate for inclusion in their policy statement. Consequently, after 20 minutes of staff advocating different definitions of prejudice, one of the group pointed out:

If we take this much time to agree on one word like prejudice, then we could take a couple of years to reach a decision on a statement.

Although the comment was intended as a criticism of the process, it was accommodated and rationalised by a senior teacher present who remarked:

Oh yes, I see this taking at least a year to get right. This is such a tender and sensitive subject that we have to tread carefully. By the way, have you got any more definitions of prejudice we could look at?

Gaine (1987) in considering the time working parties might take to formulate policy recommendations refers to the school featured in the in-service video 'Anglo Saxon Attitudes'. He states:

..the core of members' reasoning about why it would be unwise to move any faster was an anxiety about upsetting the rest of the staff, i.e. upsetting white people. This makes sense, of course, but it is also an example of how racist outcomes are embedded in the decisions we see as entirely reasonable.  
(Gaine, 1987, p.139)

In the case of the Swann Project, the remaining members of the Secondary School working party, including the team, affirmed the time-scale and a team member stated that some

more definitions could be made available, thereby giving added credence to the inappropriate nature of the task. Throughout the hour duration of the meeting, one member of the group, a probationary teacher, had not spoken but was attempting to paraphrase the ten different definitions of prejudice offered by Twitchen (1985). At this point, however, the probationer interrupted the meeting with the following remark:

Well, that's that done, I've sorted prejudice out, it is: an inability to move beyond preconceived opinions which were formed and have remained despite contrary available evidence. In the Secondary School emphasis will be placed on unfavourable prejudice within the school community.

The meeting acknowledged this achievement, accepted the definition and closed with the decision that the next meeting would look at Twitchen's (1985) definitions of racism. The facilitation and outcome of the meeting indicates the way in which the inexperience of the team might have been impacting on the both the process of change and the development of staff understanding.

At the Grammar School the multicultural working party established by the team was able to attract members of staff who had been invited to attend. It consisted, in the event, of individuals with a variety of different perspectives on the issue. The intention was that any policy statement generated by the working party would

reflect more accurately the opinions of the whole staff and increase the chances of its acceptance and implementation. Senior staff were particularly keen to ensure that the working party was as representative of staff opinion as possible.

Inevitably, given the diversity of views within the working party, the process of formulating a policy statement was slowed down by the need for considerable discussion. As a Head of Department remarked:

Well I thought it took rather a long time and a lot of arguing about words to get it out, a lot of nit picking but then that's possibly because I'm in favour of such a policy anyway. I don't know why other people nit pick but we seem to spend so many meetings sort of changing it and switching it one way and switching it back the other way, I got fed up in the end it just got too much.

The Grammar School policy statement was to undergo six drafts before being finally agreed by staff in September 1988 (see Appendix I). This suggests that whether an in-service working party is initiated through direction, invitation or on an exclusively voluntary basis, the controversial nature of the issue may ensure a wide cross-section of opinion.

In March 1989, six months after its formation, the nominated working party at the Secondary School facilitated by the team had failed to progress beyond the discussion of

basic terminology. The Head Teacher seconded a teacher from the senior management team on to the working party to help expedite matters, a move which could be interpreted as an indictment of the team's slowness in doing so. As the comments from the senior teacher seconded to the group illustrate:

Well I got involved in that at the last minute because they were having problems with writing what they wanted to say and they were writing the beginnings of a paragraph and by the time they had argued it through, they'd cancelled out the initial statement. I mean the whole thing as a piece of language was becoming rubbish. So I got involved in sorting that out and bringing the process to some sort of conclusion.

(The comments relate to instances such as the working party's drafting of the definition of prejudice referred to earlier, a process which was to continue up until this teacher's secondment.)

At the same time the Head Teacher, frustrated by the delay, sent the following memorandum to the working party:

I think it is time we moved on to discuss a concrete policy statement. Therefore, attached is a possible policy. Please read it and bring your reactions to the next meeting of the working party.

The proposed statement presented by the Head Teacher had been drafted without consultation with the team and was an amalgamation of statements taken from policies from other schools (see part two for a discussion on the possible

implications of this strategy). The document was then discussed at the working party which suggested possible alterations before returning it to the Head Teacher for re-drafting. After a further three drafts and consultation with all staff, via their pastoral year groups, the policy statement was presented at a staff meeting for final discussion and ratification in July 1989 (see Appendix II and part two). The process of formulation had taken one year to complete, in comparison to that at the Grammar School where it had taken four months. Indeed, the Grammar School task had been completed before the team at the Secondary School had even started.

In respect to this difference in timing, I would like to make several points. Firstly, in view of the sequence of events, ideally the team members at the Grammar School might have been expected to share their experiences with their Secondary School counterparts. However, by September 1988, due primarily to differences in perspective, the relationship between the team members at the different schools had deteriorated. Although the team were still allocated an afternoon a week to meet together, the relationships had become so acrimonious that certain individual team members tended to stay away. Consequently, the possibility of inter-school team assistance was neither offered nor requested.



Secondly, in the first term of the project the Head Teacher at the Grammar School decided that the formulation of a policy would be a priority. Therefore, in comparison to the Head Teacher at the Secondary School, the Grammar School Head presented the team with a specific deadline for completion of the task. The deadline was based on his desire to present a draft policy at his next meeting with the school governors.

Thirdly, while the expeditious formulation of a policy framework to address the issue of racism might be important (Gaine, 1987); the speed of formulation does not necessarily accord with the quality of content. In this case, the document drafted at the Secondary School was decidedly more comprehensive than that drafted at the Grammar School (see Appendix I and II). In part two I consider the impact of these two qualitatively different policy statements in relation to their adoption and implementation.

## **PART TWO: THE ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF A WHOLE-SCHOOL POLICY**

I believe it might be important to distinguish between the adoption of a policy statement and the implementation of a policy: the former may be no more than a statement of intent, while the latter may have direct and enforceable

consequences for institutional practice. I reveal how staff at both schools, who had been indifferent and/or reluctant to formulate a multicultural policy, were equally resistant to change when it came to considering the question of its adoption and implementation.

### **The Adoption of a Policy: Consensus or Coercion?**

At the Secondary School concerns over the implications of implementation surfaced even before the policy statement had been ratified. Indeed, the issue was the predominant reason offered by staff for not endorsing the policy statement. The manifestation of these objections at that stage in the process might have been partly due to the approach of the project team. For example, on the day prior to the staff meeting at the multicultural working party, Hugh made the comment that staff would not pass the policy, "If they knew what they were letting themselves in for". As a teacher present at the time observed:

He kept mentioning 'implications' in a very sort of veiled way but wouldn't say what they were, which worried people rather.

Subsequently, the first question to be asked at the staff meeting two days later was:

Teacher A      How is it going to be evaluated and monitored and what are the implications?

Head            We will have to develop a working party to consider the action plan.

- Teacher B I'm on the working party, what are the full implications? I've heard things have been said that, "The staff wouldn't pass this if they knew of the implications."
- Teacher A I won't be happy until I know the implications.
- Teacher C When this meeting ends and you go away to the governors that doesn't mean we are in agreement or agree with the policy.
- Head I feel that we have had a lot of discussion and opportunities to discuss the document. We have to have a multicultural policy. Ultimately, myself and the governors will have to make a decision.
- Teacher D I am still concerned with the "Big Brother" implications. I do think a lot of people disagree with the statement. If there was more mobility in teaching, I think the policy would drive people away from the school like a Trade Union closed shop. I am really concerned about the implications, I mean are people only going to be appointed who support the policy?
- Head Certainly at interview I ask staff about multiculturalism. Look, let us say, I am aware from what you seem to be saying that there remains a feeling of apprehension about the implications, may I suggest that we accept the document as a working document and then develop an action plan that evolves from it?

The notion that the implementation of a policy statement would "drive people away from the school" was also offered during the course of an interview with an English teacher who was also the librarian at the Secondary School.

He stated:

In terms of PR the Swann team have failed very badly. They have failed because they have antagonised staff very badly. They have

lectured them, rammed it down their throats to some tune and got together this multicultural policy.

We are being treated like some sort of racist colony and they have come to purge us of our attitudes and to make recommendations on how to counter-balance the degree of prejudice they have encountered and they go to the Head and tell him what they have found and I don't think they have any idea how irritating they are.

The racial bias in the Twelve Plus means that the Grammar Schools don't have any blacks, so we are getting an over preponderance of non-white pupils. The Grammar Schools don't have any blacks so of course they don't have to worry like we do about racial problems, thank you very much, they simply don't let the bastards in. So us poor mugs are getting all the non-whites, we are getting all the racial harassment and all the problems that go with it.

Parents then perceive us as being full of Pakistanis, Indians and West Indians and the situation is getting worse and white parents are not going to send their kids here. They are going to go round the classes and the more black faces they see they are going to compare us with schools which are white with no black faces and they are going to go to the school which is their kind of school, a white school. I think there is a real danger that in a few years the Secondary School will not be a multicultural school; it will be a non-white school. And once a ship starts to sink it sinks faster and faster.

The more attractive you make the place for blacks, putting up signs in other languages and that, the worse the situation is going to be and put off whites coming here. I'm being honest now I'm not trying to be racist but the place will become a kind of leper colony for the Pakistanis, the Asians and the West Indians and all the whites saying I'm not sending my kid to that Secondary School. I think it is a huge disadvantage to have policy like that in the school because then you are in danger of becoming known as "nigger-lovers" and you know I think that's what will happen.

The interpretation of the team's approach from the above account gives the impression of it being forthright and assertive, a perspective which does not concur with previous statements concerning imprecision and uncertainty. However, I suggest that this disparity might be due more to the perceived threat of a multicultural policy to the above teacher's racist beliefs, professional practice and working environment, than an accurate reflection of the team's strategy. As such it might suggest that even a low-key, softly-softly multicultural strategy is unable to placate teachers who hold racist views (Tomlinson and Coulson, 1988).

Partly as a response to such views, a senior teacher at the Secondary School believed that as debate on the issue had already been extensive, the policy should have been pursued further no matter what the opposition to it. She said:

Well, I feel we ought to have adopted it and actually challenged some of the staff who wouldn't adopt it. I can see why we are not forcing it through because if you force it through perhaps it won't happen, but until you do some staff who perhaps won't redress the balance aren't going to feel that they need to.

We have had two or three years of working on a carrot basis and there's a point at which there are a number of staff who would never accept a multiracial statement. On that basis should they be working in a multiracial school and isn't it about time we started using more of the stick?

The difficulty in formulating a whole-school policy based on consensus (Carrington and Short,1989; NUT,1989; NASUWT,1989) is in deciding when sufficient depth of agreement has been achieved to develop the process further. Despite the fact that the process of policy formulation had taken an entire academic year to complete, the teaching staff were still reluctant to endorse the statement. Furthermore, at the staff meeting to ratify the policy, it was the members of the working party who spoke most vigorously against adoption. The views of a senior teacher were sought as to why this situation had arisen. She responded:

Unfortunately, it stems back to the fact that the Head Teacher forced the policy through the working party.

The Head Teacher at the Secondary School, faced with an indifferent and reluctant staff, attempted to force the issue. The problem in resorting to such methods is that they may be counter-productive (Mitchell,1984).

One teacher had experienced a similar approach at his previous school in Brent:

If you try to introduce policies without a commitment from staff and an awareness that they need to change and adopt different perspectives, if you simply introduce a policy you simply reinforce and entrench racist attitudes further.

The fact that the policy had been primarily drafted by the Head Teacher and was comprehensive meant that it might have been perceived as being particularly challenging to notions of professional autonomy and professional competence. Related to this might have been the apprehension amongst staff that the policy posed a "survival threat". This resulted in a heightened resistance of teachers at the Secondary School which necessitated a longer and more participative process of formulation. It might therefore be argued that a more carefully considered policy constructed over time with a whole-school agreement stood the best chance of success (Gaine,1987). On the other hand those staff for whose practice the policy may have the most significant implications are likely to be the ones most opposed to its implementation. As another teacher concluded:

Staff are worried that, once you see those things in print, if they don't do what the statement says, then perhaps they can go on disciplinary proceedings.

Consequently, in a case where a significant number of staff may be opposed to a policy because they fear that they may be disciplined under its guidelines, an enforced whole-school policy may not facilitate either a collective commitment or attitudinal change, but it might modify their practice or behaviour (Rattansi,1989). It might begin to dismantle institutional processes which have a discriminatory effect. It might also go some way in

establishing procedures, for example on recruitment and selection, which in the long-term might facilitate the appointment of a staff more committed to the issue of multiculturalism/antiracism. As Gaine (1987) recognises:

It is not always necessary to change people's minds to change their behaviour. Rules and procedures may be drawn up in such a way that discriminatory practices are exposed and reduced, monitoring of job applications and appointments (with supporting sanctions) can expose and prevent racism.  
(Gaine, 1987, p.104)

Policy implementation is likely to necessitate difficult decisions about balancing the need for staff understanding and commitment with the need to control racial discrimination. In the case of the Swann Project, the Head Teacher at the Secondary School decided not to enforce adoption and recommended that the policy statement be considered a working document. The staff were placated because the statement had not been endorsed and the Head Teacher was satisfied that the staff had not totally vetoed the initiative, enabling further work to be done on the issue. Of course, it also meant that at the end of the two year study and four years after the LEA's request, the Secondary School, with 30% black pupils, remained without a multicultural policy statement.

The overwhelming and continued reluctance of the staff at the Secondary School to accept the statement reflects not only a possible weakness on behalf of the team's approach



but also the depth of concern amongst teachers that a multicultural policy might threaten their professional survival (Woods,1979). Indeed, not one teacher spoke in support of the statement at the staff meeting when it was presented for endorsement.

Clearly, the task of facilitating whole-school policy formulation and adoption had been a difficult one. A possible reason why it had been so problematic was offered by a teacher at the Secondary school. She observed:

Maybe because it is an issue which affects people's psyche almost. You can't expect dramatic changes, it's not like instigating an Information Technology policy, for instance, which is equipment led. When you have this sort of issue, which is part of people's personality, upbringing, education, it's part of them as a person and like any attitudinal thing, I don't think you can expect dramatic changes over a defined period of time.

Similarly, a senior teacher who was on the working party at the Secondary School asked why the in-service process had not engendered the understanding and commitment of staff remarked:

Teacher            I think the people who did all the work tried very, very hard for that. I mean we had a whole day's INSET, we had a twilight session, people were given the documents to read through and comment on more than once. A lot of work was done to heighten awareness but I don't know if we managed it. Because I don't know if individual people will ever, ever change their views.

Researcher      Why do you think you might have failed?

Teacher          I think because racial prejudice and racial feelings run very, very deep in people and the meetings and sessions we had can't always address those feelings. Some people may need much, much more than that, it's part of the way you've been brought up, part of the way you have been all your life.

As the beliefs and attitudes of teachers on 'race' and education are constructed over a life-time so it is suggested that a prolonged consultation and in-service provision might be no guarantee that staff will either understand or commit themselves to the issue. In chapter eight, in an attempt to understand the complex process by which perspectives on 'race' and education are constructed, I present the life history of the Deputy Head from the Secondary School.

In the light of their experiences, the team members at the Secondary School were asked how significant they considered the role of in-service programmes to be in the initiation of change. Carol responded:

I think things can be achieved through INSET but only if you have got a particular framework of how you see society and education in the first place. I don't think you can move from a conservative multicultural perspective to a radical antiracist perspective through INSET. If you see society in a particular way, you can't take on board antiracism, you could take on board multiculturalism, no problem, right across the political spectrum, because it doesn't challenge or threaten the basic perspectives held by teachers about society.

The argument advocated by Carol emphasises the notion that support for an antiracist ideology and practice necessitates teachers to be predisposed to a particular teaching ideology and perspective regarding education and the state. The underlying premise is that it would be extremely unlikely for teachers, who support the status quo in other aspects of their practice, to oppose it on the issue of racism. However, this view may fail to account adequately for the fact that teachers may have constructed and hold apparently contradictory perspectives (Rattansi, 1991). For example, teachers in the project schools may adhere to a teaching perspective which opposes selective education in the Authority on the basis of unfair class differentiation, while still failing to appreciate the unfair racial differentiation stemming from the same culturally-biased system. Arguably, if such inconsistencies can be identified, for example by the life history method, then it may be possible through them to develop an in-service programme which enables teachers to formulate a more discursively reasoned perspective (see chapter eight).

### **The Implementation of Policy: A Challenge to Professionalism**

The chapter has already considered how the occupational culture of teachers may have hindered policy formulation, In examining the implementation of a whole-school policy, notions of occupational culture were similarly prevalent.

Thus, when it came to the implementation of the policy statement, teachers at both schools believed the specification of a regulatory code of conduct to be a criticism of their professional competence. For example, at the end of an in-service discussion on the subject of implementation, a Head of Department at the Grammar School, who was a spokesperson for a group of ten teachers, concluded:

We think it is insulting to us as professionals to state in black and white that we've got to be sympathetic to the needs of individual pupils. We've been doing that for 15 years, do we really need that in black and white. We just felt that a one sentence statement saying that we support a pluralist society would be sufficient.

We didn't think we needed to break it down as some schools had done where they started to mention graffiti and what to do if there is abusive language in class. We think if you are going to do that, what happens if someone next week decides that they have been insulting the coloured members who wear tea cosies or something, you know do you rewrite another rule, quick we've got another problem on our hands. To us that's not the way to operate.

Even if we had a list of rules and regulations, half our staff would screw them up and put them in the bin. Well no, let's say a small minority would put them in the bin. The rest of us would take it as a personal insult that we had to be told how to react in a particular situation, that we were not human or aware enough or held the right attitude. We think you have got to give teachers a certain amount of credit and let them act from that in their own professional way.

Similarly, another Head of Department, who was also the spokesperson for another group, reported:

We feel that you insult the intelligence of professional teachers if you have to lay down a string of rules of the way they combat racism. We also don't think you are going to win the hearts and minds of people by having lists of, you know, what to do if a racist incident happens and what to do if something is said repeatedly. I don't think we need that. I think that teachers can be trusted to behave in a sensible way, on the assumption though that their attitudes are enlightened and educated.

The majority of staff interviewed at the Grammar School believed that it was sufficient simply to have a policy statement and that teachers as professionals could be relied upon to respond appropriately to any incident. A similar view was expounded by staff at the Secondary School. For example, a senior teacher stated:

I don't think you need a policy in school, I think you have to deal with things as they are. Policies are for people who can't think, who can't adapt to the circumstances as they see them. I don't need guidelines, I've been doing it for 15 years. I know far more than these people with their guidelines.

The case study of Troyna (1988) also found that the notion of professionalism was used by staff as an obstacle to the initiation of whole-school change. He stated "contention crystallized around the professionalism of staff and their perceived role as mere operatives" (pp.168-169). The teachers' response to the Swann Project suggests that the relationship between policy and occupational culture may be

more problematic at the level of implementation than adoption. The formulation and adoption of a policy statement, no matter how positive, may have very little impact upon professional practice. Consequently, objections which relate to occupational culture may be pre-eminent when discussions concern implementation, since only when the policy is enacted do staff have to take it into account in their professional practice.

In an attempt to gauge the professional impact of a policy statement which had been adopted but the implication of which teachers had not discussed, a Head of Department at the Grammar School was asked whether the school policy statement was influencing his practice. He replied:

- Teacher            Well, it was written down. I can't remember it word for word sort of thing, but I know it is there. I've got it in a file at home.
- Researcher        When we discussed the issue and the policy 12 months ago one of the things that you said was important was that it wasn't passed and then simply filed away.
- Teacher            Well, I'm sorry, mine has been filed away, because I can't be forever looking it out.
- Researcher        How would you feel about developing it into a code of practice, in terms of enabling staff to respond in particular ways, for example, to racist graffiti, racial harassment and so on?
- Teacher            Well, if we did have incidents occurring obviously we'd be much more aware of it but I haven't heard of any incidents or seen any incidents and nobody has mentioned having seen one or heard one in the staff room. So I don't see how we can really need to know what to do when it doesn't happen. Although if it

did I would hope I would react quickly enough. I think I'd be quick witted enough as a professional to do the right thing at the right time.

Researcher      How would you feel, if, for example, as part of the implementation of the school's policy, Heads of Department should every year evaluate the department's curriculum content and practice, and report back to senior management on the issue?

Teacher          Well, we've never been asked to and I don't know anything about whether we should be doing anything every year. I feel content with the school policy as it is.

The above response indicates how in an all-white school, the adoption of a policy statement might be considered sufficient, and the implementation of a code of practice not professionally necessary. In terms of responding to instances of racial discrimination, the teacher argued that guidelines would be irrelevant as racism was not perceived as a problem in the all-white Grammar School. Clearly, the in-service process organised by the team to formulate the policy, at which the teacher concerned was in regular attendance, had not been able to persuade staff that racism might be as pervasive in a white context as any other (NUT,1989). For example, in an all-white school the curriculum might still be ethnocentric, pupils might still use racist language, wear racist badges and spray racist graffiti.

Significantly, the Head of Department in considering the issue further, contends that even if instances of racism

did occur, a code of practice was still unnecessary as his professionalism would suffice (NASUWT,1989).

The challenge to his professional competence was also implicit in his response to the implementation of a formal process of curriculum review. As a policy may provide the framework for procedures which are to be enacted at a departmental level, so the resistance to change might be strengthened since it threatens teacher autonomy and competence as defined by their perceived role as subject specialists.

As at departmental level, the professional resistance of teachers to change might well have perpetuated the continuation of racist beliefs and institutionalised practices within the project schools. However, the cultural form in which that resistance was manifested may not necessarily be labelled as racist in intent. This reiterates the point made by Troyna (1988); a distinction needs to be made between those beliefs and practices which are intentionally racist and those which may perpetuate and reinforce racism whilst not deliberately intending to do so. The recognition of this distinction is important, not because it excuses any kind of racism, but because it might assist in the formulation of strategies which may engage with these views and thus change them (Troyna and Williams,1986). Subsequently, in-service programmes on



racism and education may need to extend their focus to incorporate exercises which enable teachers to consider their occupational culture, how it is constructed and the way in which it operates. An ideal situation to be aimed for is one in which multicultural and/or antiracist education, rather than being perceived as a threat, is perceived as an integral part of "a teacher's professional responsibility" (NUT,1989). For example, Troyna and Sikes (1990) consider the use of the life history method in initial teacher education as a means of assisting student teachers to develop a more critical, self-reflective and hopefully anti-racist practice (see chapter eight).

Although the team at the Grammar School obtained the staff's approval of a school policy statement as early as September 1988, the process of ensuring its implementation was never undertaken. As a teacher remarked:

I was very supportive of the policy statement but I thought it needed to go further, some sort of discussion about how we implement it. Unfortunately, I think it's something that the staff now feel that they have covered and done, and it's time to move on to do something else.

A Head of Department who was asked for an opinion about the policy replied:

It's a piece of paper. I feel it's a piece of paper which the powers that be are happy that it can now be produced and shown to anyone that needs to see it. It hasn't been re-raised in the staff's minds and therefore

it's only a piece of paper rather than an active tool which is referred to and talked about and altered. In fact, the mere fact that it hasn't been altered over these last 18 months shows that it's just a piece of paper.

Any scheme of work, anything that you write should be evaluated, checked, re-written, scrapped and re-done. That policy statement is an episode in the Grammar School's history and most of us now are looking for new episodes. The new episode is the national curriculum, the introduction of profiling and TVEI.

At a whole-school level, as with departmental curriculum development, it would seem that unless the emphasis and impetus for change are maintained then other possibly more directed and non-negotiable innovations, such as the national curriculum, may further marginalise teacher commitment to multicultural education. Moreover, while the move towards increased centralisation in education might involve a "gradual erosion of teachers' relative freedoms in the classroom over the content, organisation and thrust in their teaching" (Troyna, 1988, p.173), changes arising from the Educational Reform Act 1988, nevertheless, have to be accommodated into their professional practice. A delegate at the NASUWT 1991 National Conference in reference to the increased powers devolved to school governors remarked:

Why should our careers be subject to, at best the muddled actions of well-intentioned amateurs, at worst the vindictive actions of ill-intentioned busybodies. (quoted in The Guardian, 5.4.91, p.2)

The resentment teachers might feel towards this perceived erosion of professional autonomy might further increase their resistance to "additional" and controversial innovations, such as multicultural or antiracist education. An innovation requires professional consent (NUT,1989) to be totally effective.

In the case of the Swann Project, the team at the Grammar School were unable to ensure that the statement endorsed by staff was not perceived as an end in itself or was allowed to become an end in itself through strategies of teacher resistance. The danger in producing a whole-school policy statement is that it may become either a substitute for action or even an excuse for inaction. As the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (AMMA,1989) guidelines state:

For a school to have a written policy is not enough: if the policy is not well-judged, clearly defined and firmly realised in daily practice then it can have the opposite effect to that intended.  
(AMMA,1989, Guidance Note)

As a consequence, there was little difference in whole-school change arising from a policy in the Grammar School, where a statement had existed for 18 months of the project, and the Secondary School where staff did not formally adopt one. The implementation of whole-school change was equally limited in both of the project schools. The AMMA (1989) and NUT (1989) guidelines all recommend

that at an early stage in the developmental process explicit procedures need to be established for the implementation, evaluation and monitoring of any policy. Moreover, adequate time needs to be negotiated and allocated for these processes and consideration must be given to consultation and/or involvement of pupils and other community-based groups.

In the case of the Swann Project, the process of policy development was to concentrate almost exclusively on the teaching staff at both schools. However, the research suggests that while increased consultation and involvement might be more effectual, it remains problematical. Firstly, if, as the team found, there was a difficulty in achieving staff consensus, then the inclusion of pupils, parents and community groups might make the task of reaching any collective agreement even more difficult. Secondly, as the process of departmental and whole-school change were perceived by teachers as questioning their professional autonomy and competence, one might expect teachers to be equally aggrieved at the presence of non-teaching groups advising them on school policy and professional practice.

I am not, however, suggesting these as reasons why pupils, ancillary workers, parents and community-based groups should be excluded from the development of whole-school policies. On the contrary, as the MacDonald Inquiry (1988)

into the murder of an Asian pupil at Burnage High School in Manchester revealed, there are very strong reasons for suggesting that such groups must be included (see also NUT,1989; NASUWT,1989; AMMA,1989). I am therefore endeavouring to highlight potential areas of resistance so that the maxim of 'forewarned is forearmed' may be applied to those wishing to develop multicultural and/or antiracist whole-school policy.

### **Conclusion**

In analysing the transition of emphasis from the facilitation and initiation of departmental to whole-school change, the team not only widened their focus but similarly amplified the scale of the problem. For example, whereas at a departmental level team members could interact on a one to one basis, at whole-school in-service sessions team members needed to work with up to 50 teachers from varying professional backgrounds and with different perspectives on the issue of racism. The difficulties highlighted in the previous chapter concerning the development of a team perspective, the presentation of their role and the identification of staff perspectives were equally apparent at the level of the whole-school. The in-service programme may, therefore, have been made more difficult by the team themselves.

The project might however have been assisted if before it commenced preparatory groundwork had been undertaken in the school. This might also have helped familiarise staff with the issue of racism and the work of the team. Moreover, it might have assisted the team in identifying teaching perspectives in order to plan a more effective in-service programme. In formulating a whole-school policy, the greatest difficulty encountered by the team was encouraging staff to focus specifically on the issue of racism. Whether for reasons associated with the team's approach, the occupational culture or teacher racism, the resistance of staff resulted in a marginalisation of the project's effectiveness in formulating a policy to deal with racism within the school.

The task remains one of developing successful strategies of negotiation in which the focus on racism nevertheless remains explicit. If a project team are not able to deal with staff sensitivities, the agenda for change might become defined by the strategies of teachers not wanting to consider it. Subsequently, it might be possible for the development of a policy to be determined by the very manifestations of racism it is supposed to be addressing, a possible result being the adoption of a bland, ineffectual policy statement.

A difference between the adoption and implementation of a whole-school policy statement was also revealed. In the case of the Secondary School, staff suspicion over the implications for the school and their teaching practice resulted in their refusal to adopt a policy statement. The danger in awaiting staff consensus might be that those teachers most opposed to adoption and implementation are those to whose practice a policy would be most applicable. The research suggested that in certain cases a decision might have to be made between the desire to utilise the process of change to alter racist beliefs and the necessity to implement a policy to control racist behaviour.

The question of implementation was also shown to be perceived by staff as challenging their professional competence. For example, at the Grammar School, despite the fact that staff had endorsed a policy statement, the majority of staff did not perceive it as professionally necessary to consider the process any further. The notion that the policy might provide a framework to guide their practice was viewed as an implied criticism of their professional competence. The role of occupational culture in restricting the implementation of whole-school policy might be viewed in a similar, although extended, context to those relating to subject-specialism and departmental change. Whilst the effect of these professional objections might help to maintain and to some extent allow any

existing racist beliefs and practices to go unchallenged, they cannot necessarily be understood in terms of racist intent. Instead, they might help to highlight the complex relationship between racist intent, racist practice and racist effect and the difficulties in defining, as well as addressing, differing forms of racism.

The implementation of whole-school change was found to be equally limited at both schools, despite the fact that the Grammar School had adopted a policy statement. The notion of a policy's implementation might therefore need to be incorporated into the process of whole-school policy formulation. In terms of increasing the understanding and commitment of staff, the emphasis might need to be on the quality of the in-service programme. The complexity and difficulty of the task encountered by the team at both departmental and whole-school levels may necessitate the development and refinement of an equally varied, informed and qualitative response. The next chapter considers one possible approach.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE SWANN PROJECT AND THE USE OF THE LIFE HISTORY METHOD

#### Introduction

The value of life histories in the study of education is well established and has been considered in the context of schooling (Goodson,1980), teacher knowledge (Woods,1987), the relationship between personal and institutional domains (Benynon,1985), and teacher's professional self-development (Woods and Sikes,1986). The chapter may be located within the life history tradition and considers whether life histories might also have implications on the facilitation of multicultural and antiracist change.

I examine how research findings stemming from the evaluation of the Swann Project led to the life history method being considered as a possible strategy for change. The life history of a senior teacher from the Secondary School is presented. The portrayal of Boris Waring demonstrates the qualitative depth of data the life history method reveals and discusses the insight it provides into a senior teacher's construction of self, particularly in relation to the issue of racism and education. I conclude with a consideration of how the method might be used further in the development of strategies for change. I also examine the related research of Sikes and Troyna(1990).

The speculative nature of the life history framework is apparent; it is based on only one teacher and covers a vast field, some parts of which are inevitably sketched over lightly. The purpose is not to present a comprehensive model or an exhaustive biographical account, but more simply to raise some issues in this hitherto relatively unexplored area of life history methodology.

### **The Background**

At the end of the first two years of the project multicultural curriculum development in both schools at departmental and whole-school levels remained limited. Teachers remained indifferent and/or reluctant to work with the project team. In the previous chapter I referred to two comments made by senior teachers at the Secondary School. They suggested that the limited process of change related to the attitudes and beliefs of teachers which had been constructed over a prolonged period and were therefore based on a depth of personal and professional experience which gave them a particular legitimacy and strength. As these teachers comments are central to the argument and were to be the catalyst for my decision to focus on the life history method, I believe it worth quoting them again. One senior teacher stated:

Maybe because it is an issue which affects people's psyche almost. You can't expect dramatic changes, it's not like instigating an Information Technology policy, for instance, which is equipment led. When you

have this sort of issue, which is part of people's personality, upbringing education, it's part of them as a person and like any attitudinal thing, I don't think you can expect dramatic changes over a defined period of time.

Similarly another senior teacher commented:

I think because racial prejudice and racial feelings run very, very deep in people and the in-service meetings and sessions we had can't always address those feelings. Some people may need much, much more than that, it's part of the way you've been brought up, part of the way you have been all your life.

If the reason for the absence of any significant understanding and commitment by staff was related to the construction of beliefs and attitudes, a possibility existed that the research methods currently adopted to assist the processes of change might not always be of sufficient qualitative depth to undertake the task.

Rattansi (1991) contends that proponents of both multicultural and antiracist education (Lynch, 1986, 1987; Hatcher and Shallice, 1983; Sivanandan, 1985; Sarup, 1986;) in presenting their analysis and prescriptions for change have paid insufficient attention to the complexity of racist ideologies and practice. Rattansi (1991) states:

As with the multiculturalist project of reducing prejudice by teaching about other cultures, so the antiracist project of providing superior explanations for unemployment and housing shortages, etc, has so far amassed only patchy evidence of success. The point of course is not simply to abandon this type of teaching but to acknowledge and analyse its limitations in the light of a more complex understanding of the nature of racism and develop

forms of educational engagement more likely to open up racist subjectivities to alternative discourses. (Rattansi,1991,p.36)

In this chapter I consider how the life history method may be the means by which the ambivalences, contradictions and ambiguities might be identified, understood, and eventually countered. The initiation of change in teacher perspectives may still be possible, although the means by which it might be accomplished may need to be refined. The problematic appears to be on two levels: firstly, that the empirical understanding of the nature of the problem is insufficient and incomplete; secondly, and related to the first, an appropriate armoury to counter it cannot be equipped until the understanding of the issue and the way in which it operates is enhanced. In essence, the complexity of the issue must be matched by the dexterity of the response.

The notion of utilising a life history to examine the intricate and complex construction of racist beliefs was used by Wellman(1977) in his book 'Portraits of White Racism'. In it he presented what he termed "socio-histories or character portraits", stating:

The point of this approach is to project holistic and faithful pictures of respondents, to permit the reader to see whole, complex persons. The complex life-fabrics that create these pictures contain respondent's histories; the important experiences that have affected them; their ambivalences and contradictions; their hopes and joys; their concerns - in short, the forces working in their lives. The assumption behind this approach is that if the reader can see the totality within which people operate -

which of course is the person - the reader can then understand the rationale or logic that is reflected in their racial beliefs. (Wellman, 1977,p.65)

Respondents are able to specify in their own terms who they are, explain their "racial beliefs" and attempt to justify them. Whereas Wellman was primarily interested in understanding the theoretical logic of racism from the view of an academic, the approach might equally be of benefit to those concerned with actually facilitating antiracist change. If, in adopting the life history method, the innovator "as reader can then understand the rationale that is reflected" in for example, a teacher's racist beliefs, then s/he might gain the knowledge needed to be able to change them.

In order to test this hypothesis, a teacher within one of the project schools was asked if he would take part in a life history interview. Within the Secondary School, one teacher had been frequently referred to by the Head Teacher, the project team and the black pupils as the "most racist teacher in the school". Indeed at the time of the interview, he was on a disciplinary warning for calling out to an Afro-Caribbean pupil, "Come here, wog". The name I shall use for the teacher was Boris Waring and he was the Deputy Head. I asked him whether he would be prepared to discuss his perspectives further. The nature of the life history method was explained, including the fact that it would entail him talking in detail about his personal and

professional background and the way in which he believed his perspectives had developed, in particular on the issue of racism. Any apprehension that Boris might be unwilling to participate was ill-founded. On the contrary, he remarked:

Oh yes. I mean I could go on for years, write books on this subject. You see I am used to public speaking, in fact I've just done an interview with local radio this morning. I suppose I am a bit more verbose than most of the staff, but then I tend to have the ability to put into words and express what most of them are thinking anyway.

Clearly, the observation by Quicke (1985) that the self is a teacher's "favourite subject" was in this case validated. Three interviews of 90 minutes each were conducted. The interviews were recorded and assurances of confidentiality were given. They were conducted in private and took place in Boris's small office. The office was situated in an alcove off a corridor opposite the girls' toilets in the west wing of the school, the wing was the one referred to by teachers as the "Asian End" due to the predilection of Asian pupils to congregate there at break and lunch times.

### **Boris Waring's Family Structure**

Boris was white, bespectacled, 57 years old, almost six feet tall, of medium build and had a penchant for wearing brightly coloured and embroidered waistcoats. He had married at the age of 21 and had four children: twin daughters of 27, who were adopted, one son of 20, who was also adopted

and one natural son of 19. After marrying, he and his wife had "lived with some regret" for the first five years with the in-laws but "by going without" had eventually managed to buy a house. After eight years of marriage, they decided to have a family but found they were unable to. However, Boris eventually found a Harley Street specialist who could supply children for adoption. The specialist also had a practice in an East End hospital but as Boris stated:

I just don't know where these kids came from whether Harley Street or from the East End and I was not at all interested in which. In fact I positively said I didn't want to know. It would seem to me you can only be prejudiced in the proper use of the word, you judge before, when inevitably unpleasant things happen in connection with kids. It would be very easy to say that your mother or your father are this, that and the other and if you don't know it is one less problem.

Anyway my wife said she didn't mind if we got twins and that is what we got. After about six years we went back and asked if he could produce a boy for us. Now that boy is a bit on the dusky side, again where he comes from I don't know and I am not concerned, that is what I want to say in connection with this interview. That I really do believe that you must take people as they are and it doesn't really matter but when people accuse me of racism or whatever happens to be a particular accusation at the time, they don't always know the rest of the story and what you've actually done in your life and what you believe in. And then after that we surprised ourselves and produced our own child and on a schoolmaster's salary four kids was enough.

Researcher      Are you saying that your adopted son is black?

Boris            He got called "Paki" round here.

Researcher      How did you respond to that as a parent?

Boris                    Well, very low-key. I mean there's not a lot you can do, you try to produce security, which he's known and accepts now and you say to him, well, how do they know that because I don't know that anymore than you do and it doesn't matter anyway, does it? And that's all you can do really.

Researcher            The manner in which you expressed the term "Paki" implied that you may not consider it derogatory.

Boris                    Ah, "Paki" an interesting word. I imagine in the context others used it towards him it was meant in a fairly derogatory way. I have at times used the word with a child when, for instance, they say, "He called me "Paki" " and I say, "Well you are a "Paki", aren't you?" and there's nothing wrong with that, any more than if they called me "Brit" when I am a "Brit" and there's not much point standing on my high horse and saying, but I am British.

I would prefer people to say Pakistani, same as I would prefer people to say Hindu but people don't actually shorten the word Hindu, do they, they never use it actually. They probably use the word "Paki", so my next door neighbour is probably called "Paki" even though he happens to be a Sikh.

Researcher            Did your son experience racism?

Boris                    No, I don't think so because he's not very Pakistani, he looks more Filipino-type I would say but I couldn't tell really. I don't know and I'm not interested either, it doesn't matter.

Secondly, it soon became known that he lived with..that his dad was a schoolteacher, but at times he got fed up. I think it was more combined with the fact that he was quite short in stature and in adolescence one's very sensitive to these things and to crown it all if you get called "Paki" it doesn't help.

Researcher            Did his experiences in any way shape your attitude on issues of racism and education?



Boris

No, I don't think it was material to it. I don't think any experience that you have in life doesn't contribute to one's attitude to some degree, it might even confirm it, but I would think, I'm absolutely certain, my attitude towards mankind as an egalitarian was fairly well developed by then.

In providing access to consideration of Boris Waring's family structure and associated views on racist terminology, the value of the life history method is immediately apparent. For example, Boris describes his own son as "dusky", yet recognises that he suffered racist abuse in being called a "Paki" and then admits to using the same term in the classroom. While disclaiming that his son's experiences of racism shaped his own "egalitarian" views on racism and education, he acknowledges the significance of life experiences in shaping and confirming his attitudes. Moreover, he offers the information about his son's appearance as a defence against accusations of his being a racist and states that his detractors might be misguided precisely because they do not have such an insight into his personal life history. In the case of Boris Waring, the life history method may provide the means by which the multicultural and antiracist curriculum developer can get to know 'the rest of the story'.

### **Boris Waring's Career Development**

At the time of the final interview in November 1989 Boris's teaching career had spanned 33 years and had consisted of three years in a secondary modern, one year in a grammar school, 14 years in a comprehensive and finally 15 years at his present school. Although he had a professional background in Physical Education (PE), Mathematics and Craft, for the last 25 years he had taken a pastoral role, culminating in his present position as Deputy Head.

Boris was originally from London, born in the East End. His grandfather was an unskilled dock labourer and his father was a toolmaker. His working class background was very important to him and from the outset he stressed the fact that he considered himself to be "decidedly working class". In terms of his education, he said that at primary school he became "under the influence of a rather bigoted Welsh religious maniac" who "had it in" for him because he used to ask what he thought were reasonable questions about the teacher's assertions on religion. Boris attributed this behaviour as the first indication that he was to become a "confirmed agnostic" in later life. According to Boris, the teacher's religious prejudice ("I don't think his Welshness came into it"), resulted in his not being allowed to sit the Eleven Plus and so he went to a secondary modern school. However, he subsequently managed to go to a grammar school one year later.

Boris believed his experiences at the grammar school to have been particularly important in broadening his views on "foreigners" and education. He recalled:

I started to learn German and came under the influence of an Austrian Jewess, who'd just got out of Austria in time, having her class murdered in front of her, who for the next six years never spoke to me in anything other than German and who wouldn't answer me unless I spoke to her in German. That was quite a broadening experience, being given the facility early on to communicate to other people like one or two German prisoners in my locality.

A neighbour used to have them round to her house and asked me to go and speak to them, which was quite challenging when you're 14 and not particularly good at German but nevertheless I was fortunate in having met foreign people, which is not the sort of thing that working class people where I came from had ever done. You know, they wondered if they had two legs type of thing and I had actually met some which gave me a broader outlook.

At school I became a great friend with the music master, and he introduced me to the book 'Problem Child of Problem Parent' by A S Neill and I began to think about education and child rearing and I began to read a lot of things of a socio-educational nature out of choice.

Following his time at the Grammar School, Boris went into the army as "a somewhat unwilling National Serviceman" and was posted to Egypt as a clerk. He recalled:

Some of the officers who were with me were ex-Indian army rubbish of mixed race who thought they were the pinnacle of society and they'd swagger and dictate illiterate letters which I was then required to put right. They would strut around with high degrees of incompetence, great immorality. They would

stand and issue tirades about the cleanliness of your razor and you were asked to look after their children whilst they engaged in their wife swapping. There was a terrible lot of that. There were some officers I respected, they tended to be the ones who had come up through the ranks and subsequently got commissions.

You were reasonably aware of some of the not too good things that the British had done in their colonial attitudes. The rightness in our being in Egypt when they had had a basin full and were fairly poor in their standard of living and we were still collecting in the canal zone and using them as a base to stop the Russians and knock them about. They were beginning to resist so there were a few atrocities against the British Army, which I didn't like but there I was commanded to go and kill people. Now that is a fairly hefty thing. They may well command you but nevertheless if you pull the trigger I believe you bear the moral responsibility.

In order to remove the likelihood of this situation occurring, Boris said he applied for a commission which he knew would entail the Army sending him back to England. On "deliberately" failing the exam, ("I gave a little lecture on the values of co-education and a small dose of socialism which I knew would make them not select me"), he obtained a local posting in Hendon. At the end of his National Service in line with family tradition, he obtained a job as a draughtsman and began studying engineering. Nevertheless, his "interest in education and trying to do something more positive for society was still there." Furthermore, as his elder brother had gone to college this provided him with the incentive to do likewise. As Boris observed:

At that time coming from a working class background nobody had ever been to university or college and you just didn't know about these things, these were the things that rich people or fortunate people did.

He attended college for two years, taking PE and Mathematics and then started his teaching career in a secondary modern school in Hayes where he first began to get involved in "teachers' unions and things like that." (An interest which had continued as at the time of the interview he was a union official for the NASUWT). After three years in Hayes, he returned to training college and did a year in Craft because "I thought I might get on a little better if I did craft rather than general subject teaching". In 1960 he took up a post at a grammar school in Hendon. He recalled:

In Hendon 40 percent of these Grammar School kids were Jews and I've never really, apart from Miss Schmit, who was my German teacher, I'd never really had a lot to do with ordinary Jews and some of the staff were Jews too and I got to know about them and their culture and began to appreciate many of the things and temper some of the working class perceptions that a number of us had about the Jews.

Although they weren't all negative, some of them were obviously negative and I began to see some of their attitudes towards the work. For instance as a Craft teacher some of the very capable Jews, because they were very capable, it was an upper class Grammar school, would sort of smile politely at you Mr Waring and just go through the motions but really they were after things that were going to earn them money.

Well, I suppose in a sense it is fact that they're not too keen on manual work as in fact Pakistanis aren't too keen on manual work. But I believe the reason that most Jews don't do it is that they really must go after money and because of their culture and history of an insecurity the only way you can buy yourself out of trouble and get yourself moving is if you can live with your assets and pay your way out of it which I found pervades an awful lot of their philosophy but very understandably. I met some very generous people there, some of course were generous so that I would treat their children better or at least they thought I would.

Boris eventually found that the elitist academic ethos of the school was not in accord with his commitment towards comprehensive education and "beliefs about helping people who weren't very capable. I couldn't change the situation so I handed in my resignation."

On leaving the grammar school in 1960, Boris joined a purpose-built comprehensive school under a Head Teacher who "exploited all the best things he'd learnt about public schools with socialist aspirations for comprehensive schools." It was at that school that he first came into professional contact with black students. He recalled:

..the first two coloured boys to come into school, one of them was in my class and they all wanted to sit next to him, it was a novelty. By the time I left we still didn't have many coloured kids so we didn't have problems at all.

After 14 years at the comprehensive with the departure of the Head Teacher, he decided it was time for a career move.

Boris claimed he joined his present school in 1974 when it had the reputation of being one of the worst schools in the County. He was appointed to deal with the discipline problems in the school and to establish an effective pastoral system. He described the situation and how he dealt with it in the following terms:

There were mass fights between various racial groups, most kids carried weapons. I can remember having 11 police vehicles to one fight and you just had to go in and stop the fighting and make them more frightened of me with my fists than each other. To stop violence and fighting, the thing to do is to make them more frightened of the consequences of violence so we thrashed everybody caught fighting, we also whacked anybody who was standing near enough to enjoy a fight. They soon learnt. The rest is ordinary hard work, but we did have more than our ordinary share of problems what with servicing council estates. And there is a recognisable sort of person who comes from these estates.

The multi-layered ways in which Boris's self has come to be constructed begins to be revealed and an insight is provided into the intricacies and complexities which constitute his beliefs. The life history method provides in-depth qualitative access to his memories, recollections and perspectives with all their concomitant ambiguities, inconsistencies and contradictions. For example, Boris expresses pride in his working class background yet links the problems in the school to people coming from "council estates".

A similar inconsistency occurs in his recollection of his National Service. Interestingly, in this example he implicitly links the issues of class and 'race'. He condemns the officers who are "mixed race...ex-Indian army rubbish" but "respects" the officers who "have come up through the ranks" and he also questions the "colonial attitudes" towards the "fairly poor" Egyptians. (The disparities in his perceptions on 'race' and class are returned to in the next section and subsequent consideration given to their utilisation in the development of antiracist strategies.)

In a further example and continuing the theme of 'race' and class, Boris claims to leave the grammar school because of its elitism and his inability to help the less capable pupils but also offers a lengthy racist stereotype of the "very capable" Jewish pupils. In terms of his exposition of these racist beliefs, he supports his argument by referring to personal and professional experience and what he claims to be the cultural and historical predilection of Jews towards "making money".

The support of his racist beliefs, this personal-professional-historical referencing frequently features in the justification of his perspectives. In



discussing the arrival of black pupils in his previous school, Boris begins to frame his perspective in terms of black pupils as "the problem". The next section addresses the question of multicultural and antiracist education and considers in greater detail the construction of Boris Waring's racist beliefs.

### **Boris Waring's Perspectives on 'Race' and Education**

As stated in a previous chapter, the school catered for 680 pupils of whom approximately 30 per cent were black; the majority of pupils were Kashmiri Pakistanis, the remainder consisting of Afro-Caribbeans from St Vincent. Boris' attitude towards educational provision for black pupils within the school was assimilationist. He believed:

Boris                    Having chosen to come here they must accept what this country wants to do for the majority of its indigenous people. By and large, if we can accommodate minor aspects of their cultural pattern without upsetting what we intend to do, or without according them more than their share of resources, then I think we should: for instance, if we can accommodate their dietary needs without a great deal of expense or use of labour, why not?

I think at times there are dangers where people address resources somewhat dangerously, say in favour of some of the minority groups and that's more likely to create problems than others.

Researcher            Why?

Boris                    Well, the same thing as housing and anything else, like social benefits, if people see that they haven't got enough and another minority comes on and gets significantly more than you, it's bound to create enviousness,

jealousy and resentment and I'm not sure that it's always unmerited. Take the instance, of a non-English speaking child, I don't think it is right to adjudge disproportionate resources to get that child to learn English when there's plenty of other kids going short of teachers. It would be very nice if it were possible without taking funds away from somebody else but in fact it isn't possible, is it?

The perspective considers the issue primarily in terms of resources; if the educational demands by blacks are accommodated, then some groups of whites stand to lose. Subsequently, Boris attempts to ground his racist beliefs in what he perceived as real and material conditions. As Wellman (1977) observed:

In crucial ways they are ideological defences of the interests and privileges that stem from white people's position in a structure based in part on racial inequality. (Wellman, 1977, p.37)

Boris Waring continued his argument and introduced the theme of nationalism to support his case. He stated:

It is time that they accepted that they are now in this country. I think you offer opportunity to everybody but you don't make any special provision for any one group. I suppose I'm of the "when in Rome" view, in terms of say black or coloured children in this country, in terms of multicultural education things like that. In the sense that there is a basic, what one could describe as a British culture, British educational system and on the whole that is the one they should assimilate towards.

In any case, Pakistanis nearly all intend to go back, taking their riches or their skill and live the good life when they go back. So most Pakistanis have a very transitory existence here. They are only using the

facility of the school and this country. They don't really consider themselves British. They haven't thrown their lot in with this country at all.

His presentation of this perception arouses in him feelings of resentment and animosity that in introducing multicultural/antiracist initiatives, special educational privileges would be given to 'them' which the present British system of education cannot afford. Subsequently, his argument becomes linked to a nationalist theme. The education system becomes 'our' system, just as this is 'our' country and if 'they' want to come here, 'they' must abide by that system. If 'they' receive special educational privileges, then 'they' will be receiving unequal treatment. As Billig(1988) states:

This type of complaint provides a justificatory reason for prejudice by claiming simultaneously to defend nationalism and equality. (Billig,1988,p.120)

Moreover, according to Boris's perspective, instead of the school failing the educational needs of black pupils, it is 'they' who are exploiting the existing system. Consequently, far from viewing society as at present systematically providing economic, political and social advantages for whites at the expense of blacks, for Boris Waring it is the black groups who having "not thrown their lot in with this country" are attempting to obtain a "disproportionate share of the resources". Non-compliance with this country's present educational practices is

translated into a demand for privileges. As Barker (1981) suggests, the new racism involves a re-definition of prejudice:

You are racially prejudiced if you refuse to adopt the characteristic life style of the country in which you have chosen to live. (Barker,1981,p.17)

Subsequently, Boris was asked whether he believed in dealing with the prevailing racist attitudes amongst white pupils in the school. He stated:

Well, you would have to define what their attitude is before you decide whether you need to change it. You need to work with other people in order to find out what they are really like, what is a correct and false attitude. For instance, my parents were born in South London, working class and I had received wisdom about Jews.

What they said about Jews is what I knew about Jews. They said some of them were gifted, artistic, kind and some of them were out for themselves. It wasn't until I went to school and had in my class two Jews that I actually first met them. One was quite mediocre in ability, very kind and very genuine, and the other one exhibited some of the less lovely aspects of Jews archetypal in literature, not least Shylock.

Subsequently, as I have said I taught in a school where 40% of the kids were Jews and I formed a certain sort of concept. So it is particularly useful to get around the world, it's particularly important not to end up with one definition or concept of what all people of that particular type are like. I think that's the biggest failing.

He was asked whether white children coming into the school may have received similar negative or stereotypical views about black people from their parents, and did he therefore think the school had a part to play in countering these views. He replied:

Well not entirely. Certainly, some of the negative attitudes held by white people are justified. It's no good saying they are all okay because they are not. Some are the biggest liars and cheats out. I can talk to you about all sorts of people I've had at County Court. Five people went to prison or was it six? All but one were our ex-West Indian coons. All villains, liars, cheats and pedlars. The same is true of the Pakistani community. It is a fact that the majority of Pakistani people do lie as a matter of course. That isn't just prejudice, that's cold facts.

They do, Pakistanis, life is tough for them, their country's based on corruption, so to survive you don't do as well for your family or for yourself unless you engage in that sort of conduct. And that's what they do here. For instance, I heard two Asian girls talking about how they use false names so they don't pay prescription charges. It is my experience that they lie automatically and when you find out that the parents lie automatically, you know you have to be careful. This is just a fact. Fathers will plead poverty, can't do this, can't do that and the same man came in, his son was on the wag couldn't find him anywhere. The police picked him up entering a house. What house was he entering, it turned out he was entering a second house his father owned and was renting to someone else. Now that's sheer realism.

Researcher

How can you justify the statement that all Pakistanis are liars?

Boris

Well, I didn't actually say that, I didn't say they were all. I said there was a racial disposition towards getting yourself out of trouble by telling lies and I believe that. I think you'll find that too, if you look at various historical accounts. They lie for the same reason as the blacks did and any other oppressed group historically - you take 'Gone With the Wind'. There's war going on all around and in one particular scene there's no doctor and they turn to a black child and they look to her just because she is a servant. They say, "Do you know anything about midwifery?", and the child says, "I knows all about bornin babies", the reason being that in that time when slaves were oppressed, your security was dependent upon giving satisfaction and therefore you didn't say you couldn't do something, because you would get a thump or be sold or dismissed or something like that and a lot of characteristics date from that time.

Now that is a piece of history and similar things have happened in Asia particularly in India where life has been so cheap, for survival they have to resort to a certain amount of theft and lying and prostitution and things they would prefer not to do but you're compelled by survival. This has happened in the Indian continent for donkey's years and so theft from bazaars and theft when you sell things and not saying what you mean. It is a part of a way of life because you need to get money. Now this exists in England and yes, I honestly believe a lot of Asian kids are disposed to do it. It's a survival technique.

They also exploit the situation by quickly hopping into other languages so that you don't understand. They exploit that and when you object they say you can't touch me because I'll have you for racism. If I get some Asian parents here, I do not expect to use my superior English and put them at a disadvantage, it's the same thing.

I'll tell you this if you are conducting an enquiry into the truth of something you will have a lot of trouble with Pakistanis. They lie and when you get them into a corner they shop each other just to get themselves out of it, for the same survival reasons, but if you

deal with them day after day, year after year  
as we have to, you will soon pick that up.

Van Dijk (1984) notes that many of his respondents who expressed negative attitudes towards immigrants justified their opinions by relating them to events in their personal lives. He believed that in this way individuals attempted to convey the image of reasonableness, the personal account implying that the expressed belief was based upon 'factual' happenings rather than any personal prejudice. Similarly, the majority of Boris Waring's racist beliefs are supported by reference to personal and professional instances which he uses to validate his case. Furthermore, he attempts to give them added legitimacy by reference to their historical and cultural background.

Issues raised through in-service training are also dismissed when they are contrary to his personal and professional life experiences. For example, Boris was asked for his opinion about an antiracist, in-service training day he had recently attended. He replied:

A load of rubbish. When some loquacious person who has not had the problem of having to teach comes and tells me about what's going on and how to do it and when he comes down with inaccurate facts like there is nobody else coming into this country, immigration has stopped, he is a liar, either that or he's extremely ignorant. I know of no child in this school who has married anybody other than someone from the Asian continent.

Now then, Saturday in Tesco's - when I go to Tesco's I try and read my book in the corner but umpteen people come and talk to me and there was one father and he had both kids here - there's a good example - now both those kids, the girl was quite bright but she could twist and tell the tale. Her younger brother, Azad, he's just an absolute shit, he really is. He has got a very good grasp of English, very plausible, so plausible that when you first meet him you would wonder why all the staff treat him with more than disdain. You just have to distance yourself and the sooner we can get him out of this school the better.

He hasn't got a job yet, he's just too bloody idle. Oh, a thousand things he did, one time he got himself a job at Asda, he used to go there with an old pair of shoes, pinch a good pair, put them on, dump the others and walk home. Now he is up to all those things and he thieves and lies and this and that and when you investigate anything you almost have to choke him to get the truth out of him, because the lies just go on and on.

Anyway, I was talking to his father who I met in Tesco and who used to have to keep coming up to school, now the father told me about his daughter's marriage, "Ah we arranged so and so", and he tells me the stages of it. Now in a fact they go through an engagement, which in their eyes is as good as a marriage, because it is binding, by avoiding official marriage in England you are officially unmarried so you can import another one can't you?

Now this is where the resentment goes on, this is where the increase of the population is a drain on the supplies and resources in this country. We know it goes on and I just don't think we are going to have an harmonious life unless we eradicate that. So I do say when in Rome do as Rome does and you're not going to keep importing extra people, whipping round the law like that. The number of illegal immigrants here is legion.



The external body of information upon which the in-service facilitator was drawing is countered by the contrary personalised knowledge base of the recipient, Boris Waring. Consequently, in terms of the project, while the members of the curriculum development team may have expounded extant theories on the need for multicultural and antiracist education, they were unlikely to persuade Boris Waring that his views needed to change. Moreover, as his perspectives were constructed from experience, so the enactment of those beliefs in terms of his professional practice did not require any external guidelines or policies. For example, he was asked about his views on the formulation of a school policy on antiracist and multicultural education. He replied:

Boris                    A waste of time. It's like many other thing where we waste a lot of time with policies, it's really what you do. You can write policies until you are blue in the face, it's a matter of changing peoples' opinion. I think the example exhibited by senior people in the school is pretty important. I don't think writing a policy is going to change a bigot from being a bigot.

What I do think you've got to have is one or two people prepared to go around and tell them (the black pupils) in a fairly straight way you think that's unfair or unpleasant. I don't think there are many people prepared to do that and therefore I am rather disdainful of people writing things down rather than doing anything about it. In any case, is there any need to change our practice in the school? I can't see that we need to change the practice.

Researcher            The NASUWT antiracist policy statement, it's your union, you're an official from the union, do you stand by this document?

Boris                    Largely, but it is a plea for resources really, as most things from teachers' unions are. If you want to address it in these generous terms it's a plea for resources but in terms of what is actually possible today in the unresourced climate where you've got a thousand and one things to do I don't think anybody would say to carry that out at the moment is possible.

Researcher            So if the project team were to come along and say, "Okay Mr Waring as the NASUWT official we'll take this code of practice and adopt it as the school's code of practice", would you feel comfortable with that?

Boris                    Well, er yes, but again I don't think you need it. I don't think you need it in the school, I think you have to deal with things as they are. For instance the Head Teacher chucked out of the sixth form two Asians permanently. The sixth form are, of course, poor quality re-treads trying to get up to an indifferent level of GCSE, forget about A' levels. Anyway, these Pakistani lads, utter liar one of them, utter liar, won't do as he is told and he stands there and defies me to get hold of him. The other one, he came from a family of utter liars, all his brothers were liars everything they said was a lie. This one became less of a liar but thoroughly lazy. He comes back in the sixth form, typical Asian attitude, all you've got to do is associate with your school register and you get educated, does nothing all day, there he is with the other one setting off fireworks annoying people. I saw them do it and they stand there and tell you all the lies under the sun.

Researcher            So what is your point concerning this policy?

Boris                    Well, that's a council for perfection, the state of affairs we would like to have in society but we are not quite at that level of society, are we?

Researcher            But the school could adopt this policy and move towards improving the situation now.

Boris                    What good would it do?

Researcher      Well, for example, it could provide guidelines and a framework from which the school may begin to respond to racist behaviour and stop racial discrimination.

Boris            I know the job and how to do it. God knows I've been doing it long enough and a damn sight longer than these people (the team) with any guidelines.

Researcher      So why is this document produced by your union then?

Boris            Because they were probably asked to produce it.

Researcher      By your members, who apparently thought they needed it.

Boris            The reality of the situation is that unions have hardly any effect these days in a government which is anti-union - but we don't want to go into the politics of it now. I am a member of a pressure group called Education Concern, which is a group of people largely consumers of education who would like to feel that things could be improved. It tries to get local and central government to value education and put the necessary resources into it. It's non-political. It certainly has a racial mix. One of my good friends is a Pakistani for instance. And I must get membership forms to two other West Indian friends of mine.

In shaping his response, and in line with his previous statements, Boris immediately perceives policy in terms of the black pupils and attempts to reinforce his argument against the policy from personal and professional experience, once again introducing his racist beliefs concerning Pakistanis. The issue of resources is also re-introduced. However, the plea for resources is made by the union of which he is an official. Consequently, when he is questioned further about the union's antiracist policy,

Boris is unable to evoke the nationalist "no special provision for any one group" argument he used previously. Moreover, he is faced with the dilemma of one issue, namely trade unionism, of which he is strongly in favour, being used to argue for another issue, antiracism, to which he is strongly opposed. Subsequently, when pressed on the matter he goes on the defensive, attempting to avoid further direct discussion on the matter and introducing black friends to show that he has no personal prejudice (Billig, 1988).

The viability of inter-relating an individual's differing perceptions on issues in order to facilitate change will be returned to later. In voicing his opposition to an antiracist policy, Boris Waring also introduces the notion of professionalism. The argument he endorses is that as an experienced teacher he does not require any written instructions on how to behave. If his personal and professional experience had informed his views, then they had also shaped his conduct.

Finally, Boris was asked whether he believed the project would have a lasting effect on the school. He remarked:

I can't see the project changing things because a lot of things are beyond our influence. The major way to improve the effectiveness of education for any group is to have positive parental attitudes. Now you can encourage them, make them feel welcome but you can't give them intelligence. You

can't give them relevant experience of education themselves. You can't give them relations who have done well in education, who know the benefit from it. You can't overcome a lot of their cultural prejudice in one generation. We go into homes to help them get over these problems.

Boris's views on racism and education are equally reflected in his rejection of the project's effectiveness, namely in terms of the "cultural problems" of black pupils and their families. The "character portraits" of white racism presented by Wellman (1977) revealed similar explanations offered by respondents who placed the reason for inequality with the oppressed in terms of their biology, personality, family and culture. He concludes:

In most instances the responsibility for inequality is attributed to the victim. If there is a consistent theme in American racist thinking, it is this.  
(Wellman, 1977, p.39)

The life history of Boris Waring provides a clear example of the way he, as a white person, attempts to minimise and neutralise the significance of racism and the numerous ways he attempts to marginalise any response to it. In formulating and expressing his racist beliefs, he makes frequent reference to personal and professional life experiences. Moreover, they shape and guide his professional conduct and make his commitment to the validity of those beliefs self-assured and virtually impenetrable to change. Woods (1987), in considering teacher attitudes, postulates:

There is a danger that a confrontational approach here - impressing on them the sexism and racism in their thought and practice may only achieve opposition and resentment and drive the stanchions of those dispositions further into their belief systems. This is because "we are what we are" - the product of a lifetime's socialisation and adaption. Coming to terms with teaching is a complex matter, such that adaptations for many are protected by boundaries and counter-armament in the event of threat. Demands for change that go to the root of one's construction of self are very difficult to meet without some examination of how that self has come to be constructed. (Woods,1987,p.19)

In revealing the inter-related construction of the personal and professional self of Boris Waring, one might begin to comprehend the magnitude of the task of dismantling his racist beliefs. Nevertheless, it might not be until one begins to understand fully and engage these complexities that successful strategies for change can be assembled.

**The Use of Life History in Developing Antiracist Strategies**  
Woods (1987) considers how the knowledge used in teacher training has not necessarily been produced for teachers. He highlights how educational research often appears remote and irrelevant, and how teachers have difficulty in relating this theory to their everyday practice. He states:

The issues and problems posed, the theories elaborated, the form of discourse employed all relate to other epistemologies - sociological, psychological, philosophical - that seem remote from the practical concerns of teachers. (Woods,1987,p.1)

He considers the training material which was designed and presented in ways that teachers had difficulty in understanding and which tended to further alienate them by often appearing to be critical of teachers and demeaning the significance of their views. Subsequently, he argues for teachers' knowledge to be theirs and for a new conception of knowledge developed through the aided life history. He states:

..the life history would appear to be an eminently suitable method in the compilation of teacher-knowledge. It is based within the subjective reality of the individual in a way that both respects the uniqueness of individuals and promotes identification of commonalities among them. It is concerned with the whole person, within whole contexts. (Woods,1987,p.6)

Woods (1987) examines the benefits accruing to the teacher from an examination of self in the development of knowledge through life history. In continuing this theme, the value of teacher-knowledge to the life history facilitator needs also to be considered. During the process of developing strategies for change on a controversial issue such as racism, innovators might well be faced with teacher opposition. Evidently, if strategies are to negotiate such opposition, then it may be crucial that one understands how that teacher's self has come to be constructed. The life history method provides the curriculum developer with such an opportunity.

Furthermore, the information gleaned from a life history grounded in teacher-knowledge might facilitate the development and refinement of antiracist strategies based on, and customised to, the subjective reality of the teachers themselves. Strategies might be developed which, rather than being based exclusively on distant prescriptive educational theory, accommodate and utilise the existing perspectives of teachers.

Reference was made in a previous chapter to the work of Carrington and Short (1989) who stress the importance of the "psychological processes associated with attitude formation and change" (p.234). They contend that as a large percentage of teachers do not support an antiracist perspective (Troyna and Ball,1985) then tactically antiracist initiators of change need "to ensure a closer correspondence between their own ideas and those they hope to change" (p.235). To support this approach, Carrington and Short (1989) cite the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger,1957) which states that "individuals are unable to tolerate contradictory cognitions, ie thoughts, attitudes and beliefs, that are inconsistent with one another" (Carrington and Short,1989,p.236).

However, as in the case of Boris Waring, life histories may reveal how teachers hold ambiguous, ambivalent and apparently contradictory perspectives on a range of issues



although they do not necessarily perceive them as such (see also Rattansi,1991). Racism, gender and class may for some individuals be related but for others the issues remain diverse and totally unconnected. The project revealed that while teachers were reluctant to address the question of racial inequality, a majority were strongly opposed to the Authority's policy of selective education on the grounds of class inequality. Equally, a large percentage of women teachers expressed concern over gender inequality; a comment sheet returned by a woman teacher to the curriculum development team following an INSET session at which a draft policy statement was presented stated:

Seems to pay lip-service to some of the discussions in the staff-meeting. Eg. there was considerable feeling against the use of aggressive terms such as "to confront and combat racism" and the statement isn't broad enough, having too much emphasis on race and certainly from my point of view insufficient emphasis on sexism which has an impact on far more people.

A more productive strategy for initiating attitudinal change may be to extend the focus beyond teaching perspectives on 'race' to include the related perspectives of class and gender. Although the most common view of teachers towards addressing racism may indeed be assimilationist (Carrington and Short,1989), it does not necessarily preclude the possibility that the same teachers may hold more radical teaching perspectives in terms of gender-related and/or class-related issues. It may be at

the level of these apparent contradictions of an individual's teaching ideology and perspectives on education and society that the opportunity lies for enabling attitudinal change to occur. I have already suggested how the adoption of a low-key, multicultural approach may simply reinforce the existing marginalised perceptions of teachers towards addressing the issue of racism. Therefore, rather than conceptually alter the approach in an attempt to make it more congruent with the existing perspective of teachers (Carrington and Short, 1989), the issue of racism and the antiracist perspective might remain explicit.

In this case the initiator of change attempts to identify the perspectives of teachers on issues of gender and class which may be related to the curriculum development issue. It might therefore be possible for a programme to be developed which, by operating at the level of these 'self-contradictions', links the issues of racism, sexism and class and enables the individual to formulate a more discursively reasoned perspective.

In terms of in-service programmes, the teacher would be not only practically but also ideologically and personally involved since the exercises would relate to the subjective reality of the participant. As Skelton and Hanson (1989) state:

It must be appreciated that to address equality issues is not to deal with external exercises restricted to the realms of the professional or the academic; rather, it involves a challenge on a personal level. Confronting inequality involves the individual in self-examination. Personal assumptions, attitudes, expectations, behaviour are all called into question and may require change. (Skelton and Hanson, 1989, p.120)

Furthermore, Woods (1989), in recognising the propensity of adults to change their attitudes radically, suggests that the change may be due to "the impact of new knowledge, perhaps introduced by a strong educational agent, someone who casts a new light on perceptions and brings new realisation" (p.114). In addition, information obtained through the life history method might in the short-term enable a curriculum development team to formulate a strategy which minimises opposition to multicultural/antiracist change. For example, in the case of Boris Waring, the team in formulating a whole-school policy might have used the antiracist policy guidelines provided by the union for which he was an official.

However, while the life history method clearly has qualitative benefits for initiating the process of change, the undertaking must clearly be handled with care. The problem in adopting the method is that it may legitimise and reinforce the very perspectives that it is trying to change. Life history was believed by Woods (1987) to be significant for two reasons. Firstly, he believed individuals may have ill-informed ideas but by talking

about them and discussing them they can add considerably to their substance. Secondly, Woods (1987) postulated "articulation promotes teacher control of the knowledge produced.. which helps to establish ownership" (p.7). As a consequence, the multicultural/antiracist curriculum developer as the life history facilitator has to be exceedingly wary when discussing issues such as racism to avoid legitimising and reinforcing the racist beliefs of the participant.

Nevertheless, carefully handled the life history may still have an important role to play as part of an innovatory educational package. In enabling an analysis of the complexity of racism to take place by providing access to the contradictions, ambiguities and ambivalences in individual attitudes and practices, it might not only enhance understanding, but enable the development of strategies which might contribute more successfully to their deconstruction (Rattansi,1991).

The research of Sikes and Troyna (1990) moreover suggests that the life history method might in itself be an effective strategy. In developing an initial teacher education (ITE) programme, Sikes and Troyna (1990) were aware that students embarking on ITE courses might already have a conception of the job based on their experiences as pupils (Denscombe,1985). Students might have formed ideas

about what constitutes being a 'good' and 'bad' teacher or what constitutes a 'good' and 'bad' school or how they might like to be perceived by their colleagues and pupils (Denscombe,1985; Crow,1987). As a consequence of these pre-suppositions, the theoretical and practical information generated as part of an ITE programme tended to be accommodated or rejected according to its degree of congruency with students' pre-existing conceptualisations about themselves and their practice. It is therefore important that facilitators of ITE programmes become aware of those ideals and perspectives held by student teachers.

In addition, Sikes and Troyna (1990) contend that 'traditional' ITE programmes have tended to promote notions of individualism without questioning "the nature and values of the system in which they (are to) practice or seek sources of the problems confronting them in social relations rather than individuals" (Dale,1977,p.96). Consequently, a danger exists that those programmes currently being promoted in teacher training institutions "result in the reproduction of conventional wisdoms and practices based on racist, sexist and other oppressive assumptions" (Sikes and Troyna,1990,p.13).

In utilising a derivation of the life history method, Sikes and Troyna hope to indentify and challenge existing assumptions about teaching and education, and increase the

educational awareness of students. They believe it might be possible for ITE programmes to assist student teachers to develop a more critical, reflective and extended professional practice. The programme they suggest aims to allow students to make explicit:

..taken for granted assumptions about education, schools, teachers and teaching in order that they should be able to examine them from a more critical perspective and consider the implications such assumptions have for their practice as teachers. (Sikes and Troyna, 1990, p.8)

It is hoped that the ability to reflect critically on practice might be one which student teachers maintain throughout their professional careers. The notion presented is of a teacher as "reflective practitioner" (Dewey, 1933) engaged in "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it" (Dewey, 1933, p.7). As a "reflective practitioner" teachers might therefore be less threatened and less resistant to change, allowing for arguments presented for educational innovation to be given more detailed consideration.

In the approach piloted by Sikes and Troyna (1990) student teachers worked in a groups of three: as interviewer, interviewee and recorder (20 minutes interviewed, 30 minutes whole-group discussion). The framework for discussion, for example, ideas and perspectives on teaching styles, was provided by the tutor who also assisted in the

feedback and analysis stages. It was possible therefore for students to compare, contrast and critically reflect on these perspectives. In regards to students reflecting on teaching styles, Sikes and Troyna found that in the case of their own school experiences students were highly critical of "didacticism, competitive individualism, formality and the sanctity of the power relationships between pupils and teachers"(p.19). This subsequently provided a framework for exploring advantages of more collaborative approaches as a teaching and learning strategy.

Collaborative approaches have been identified in the research (see for example, Grugeon and Woods,1990) as the approach most conducive to the initiation of multicultural and antiracist education. Consequently, the possibility that an ITE life history programme might impact on professional practice suggests that it is worthy of further research and investigation. In addition, I have revealed in chapters six and seven that the "cult of individualism" within the occupational culture of teachers may have restricted the curriculum development process. An ITE life history programme which assists in the deconstruction of notions of individualism and promotes critically reflective practice might therefore have significant implications for multicultural and antiracist educational innovation.

## Conclusion

With the notable exception of the pilot study of Troyna and Sikes (1990), the debate concerning the possible strategic utilisation of information extracted from life histories remains speculative and awaits further research.

Nevertheless, in terms of the intrinsic worth of this research method, I have revealed the quality and depth of data which can be collected. The senior teacher quoted at the beginning of the study made the comment concerning "racial prejudice and racial feelings...running very, very deep" as they "were part of the way you have been brought up been all your life". She also made the point that "we can't always address those feelings". Perhaps with the insight provided through the adoption of the life history method, it might be possible to go some way towards the realisation of that objective.



## CHAPTER NINE

### CONCLUSION

Since 1981 LEAs have increasingly endorsed policy statements on multicultural education and to a lesser extent begun to recognise the need to counter racism. Troyna and Ball (1985) from their research suggest that although LEAs have endorsed policy statements, they had not been enacted at school-based level. As Troyna and Foster (1988) similarly remark, "There is a considerable distinction between the conception and implemetation of these educational ideologies" (p.290). In enacting its multicultural policy through the Swann Project, the LEA in the study might be perceived as attempting to bridge the gap between conception and implementation. Rattansi (1991) recognises the difficulties entailed in developing strategies to facilitate change in the field of 'race' and education, claiming:

..one of the difficulties in this and other fields of education has been the failure to appreciate how wide and effective is the range of obstacles and strategies for marginalisation which subvert the transformative intentions enshrined in formal national, local authority and school policies. The ways in which antiracist reforms at various levels fall foul of administrative and managerial incompetence, interdepartmental and career rivalries, sheer limitations of time and resources in the face of competing demands, overt and covert resistance by oppositionist elements, the marginalisation of parents and other members of minority and majority communities and campaigning organisations. (Rattansi, 1991, pp.46-47)

Similarly Ben-Tovim et al (1987) note:

One primary and pervasive experience of local organisations which take up the issue of racism and racial equality with local government is that of marginalisation...to push anti-racist forces to the periphery of local politics (cf Ouseley, 1984). Not surprisingly then struggles against racism have become struggles within and against marginalisation. (Ben-Tovim, Gabriel, Law and Stredder, 1987)

The study of the Swann Report afforded the opportunity to observe, document and evaluate the interrelated ways in which the transformative potential of a project aimed at facilitating multi-cultural education in two schools might be marginalised. This encapsulated how not only the forces of teacher resistance might push the issue of racism to the periphery of the educational agenda, but also the ways in which the establishment, management and operationalisation of the project might itself have contributed to that process of peripheralisation.

The qualitative approach meant that the perspectives of team members, teachers, LEA officials and representatives of the CRCs involved in the process could be examined and portrayed. As the local socio-political context and inception of the project were considered to be integral parts of the process of change, and potential areas for marginalisation, so the parameters of the investigation were extended to include the background to the project. Furthermore, as it became apparent that understanding and facilitating the process of change might necessitate a

more detailed examination of racism, in particular the ways in which attitudes and beliefs on 'race' and education are constructed, so I extended the analysis to include the life history of a Deputy Head from one of the project schools.

In examining the background to the development of multicultural education, the work of Young and Connelly (1981) was found to be particularly pertinent. The chronology of events leading up to the project team's entry into the schools revealed how decisions on a project's inception taken in a particular political climate may have had significant implications for the team's future ability to facilitate change. For example, it was found to be particularly pertinent to the process of change that the political disposition of the LEA towards multicultural and antiracist education was perceived by those involved in establishing the project as highly sensitive and not necessarily supportive. As a consequence, the LEA's elected members might not have been directly involved in securing funding for the initiative and questions were raised concerning the commitment by the Authority to the project. Therefore, while at one level it might be accurate to describe the project as an LEA initiative, at another level, in terms of understanding the process of change, it provides no allowance or consideration for the fact that the initiative was primarily orchestrated internally by three LEA officials. In view of the Authority's political

disposition, both LEA officials and representatives of the CRCs favoured a low-key, softly-softly multicultural approach; a perspective which was also supported by the senior staff in the project schools and was subsequently to inform the strategy of the project team. The possible marginalising effect this approach might have had on the process of change will be examined later in the conclusion.

It was further revealed how the creation of the project occurred at virtually the same time as the LEA was endorsing its first multicultural policy statement and commissioning the creation of consultative machinery with the local black community via meetings with the CRCs. Indeed, it was directly as a result of these initiatives that the political and organisational context was established which allowed for the project's creation. Consequently, LEA officials charged with the project's inauguration and management had very little previous opportunity to acquire locally professional experience in initiating and managing multicultural practice. The ability of these officials to make informed decisions about the project's creation may have been further hampered by their gradual removal from the decision-making process of members from the black community via the CRCs (Rex, Troyna and Naguib, 1983).

In terms of the CRCs' involvement, despite being primarily responsible for the idea of a project and the drafting of the initial proposal documents, as the LEA's administrative and financial role increased, so the CRCs' participation diminished. While the establishment of consultative apparatus campaigned for by the CRCs did provide the organisational arena for the project's creation, it resulted in the LEA relinquishing very little power in terms of its decision-making authority. In this respect, the research reinforces the reservations expressed by Naguib (1985) concerning responses to the Swann Report (1985). The process that the CRCs experienced provided a clear example of institutionalised practices which at a local level might serve to legitimise and perpetuate the continued marginalisation of the black community in terms of power and decision-making authority. As the project was concerned with 'race' and education and in as much as the CRCs represented the interests of black groups within the Authority, the transformative potential of the project might well have been reduced by their limited involvement.

A further example of how the project's inception may have affected the project's potential for change was provided by the examination of the recruitment and selection procedures adopted for the project team. The LEA did not appoint in accordance with the spirit of equal opportunity as specified by the Commission for Racial Equality (1983) and

its own code of practice. In particular, reservations were expressed concerning the timing and placing of the job advertisement and the failure of the LEA to draft a personnel specification or keep an interview record form. Consequently, the advertising, job description, shortlisting and interview procedures may have been inappropriate for the task specification and contrary to the principles of equal opportunity.

In effect, the recruitment and selection procedures resulted in the appointment of four team members who were inexperienced in working in the field of 'race' and education. Furthermore, team members held differing perspectives on the ways in which they should approach the project.

Although the LEA provided a two week induction programme, it remained the prerogative of the team to develop a strategy. Throughout the project the LEA, as project manager, chose not to provide the team with any guidance other than emphasising that whatever strategy they embarked upon it should be low-key, softly-softly and conceptually multicultural. The permissive relationship between the LEA and project team might in certain circumstances have assisted the transformative process by allowing the team scope to develop their own strategies. In this instance, however, the limited nature of change achieved by the team

suggests that their work might have been strengthened if more guidance and support from the LEA had been forthcoming. The findings support the studies of Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) and Foster (1988) which signified the importance of continued LEA support and guidance for school-based initiatives.

The transformative potential of the project might also have been limited by the situational context in which it was located. It was revealed that, with the exception of one set book in each of the English Departments, neither of the two schools had undertaken any multicultural initiatives nor addressed the question of racism. While this may be a strong argument for locating the project in the schools, it also meant that the project team (in this case inexperienced and without the support of the LEA) had to start from basics in engendering an understanding and commitment amongst staff; a task which might have been made additionally difficult as the staff at the schools had neither been consulted nor informed about the project. It might have assisted the work of the team if the schools, following their selection, had been better prepared for the project's arrival. Apart from reducing the initial apprehensiveness and associated resistance of staff, it might have enabled the LEA provisionally to have identified those departments which were most likely to support the initiative. This in turn might have informed the selection

criteria for the project team, encouraging a degree of congruency between the professional background of the team members appointed and the supportive departments. Such congruency might have been particularly advantageous given the identification of the occupational culture of teachers as a significant variable influencing the process of change.

In examining the predominantly academic organisation and ethos of the Grammar School and the predominantly pastoral organisation and ethos of the Secondary School, it was found that despite these differences both Head Teachers were exceedingly wary of the project alienating the local white communities the schools served. In the case of the Secondary School, the "white backlash" was interpreted as a possible rejection of the school by white parents who may perceive an over-emphasis on multicultural initiatives. In the case of the Grammar School, the main concern was that if academic standards were to fall it may be perceived as due to the project's presence. In the event, neither of these situations arose. However, to some extent this may have been due to the fact that the process of change facilitated by the team was so limited.

Although no "white backlash" was precipitated in the schools, this does not detract from the potential significance it might have had on the perspectives of the



Head Teachers towards the project. Clearly, the marginalising influence of white parents and white people in the local community on multicultural/antiracist educational innovation is an important one which needs to be acknowledged. For example, in the context of parental influence on the attitudes of their children and the relatively short time children spend in school compared to home, Carrington and Short (1989) have argued that the effectiveness of an antiracist policy will be "minimal unless both children's racial attitudes and those of their parents are addressed concomitantly" (p.236).

They recommend that parents should be consulted at each stage of the curriculum development process, particularly in the formulation and implementation of antiracist whole-school policies (see also Campbell, 1986; Lynch, 1987). However, they also recognised that for teachers the involvement of parents in matters which relate to the curriculum may "be at variance with their professional autonomy and expertise" (p.236) and therefore potentially problematic. Nevertheless, in view of the Educational Reform Act 1988 which devolves greater powers to parents and governors, teachers may need to engage in greater dialogue with parents (Kemmis, 1988). As Anderson (1988) argues, "without their co-operation equal opportunities policies may well flounder, if indeed they are not strangled at birth" (p.35). Given the difficulties

encountered by the project team in relation to similar notions of occupational culture identified by Carrington and Short (1989), further research on the perspectives of parents and the development of closer home-school liaison on the issue of racism might be particularly revealing.

The concern of the Head Teachers about the project's precipitation of a "white backlash" was reflected in their support of the LEA's belief that the project required a low-key softly-softly multicultural approach. The strategies adopted were clearly important in both determining and realising the project's potential for change. The ability of the team to facilitate multicultural educational innovation and to counter racism may have been marginalised by the strategies they adopted and the ways in which they implemented them. For example, an examination of the initial approach within the project schools revealed how, in attempting to keep a low profile, the team's approach to the Heads of Department resulted in staff holding an unclear perception of the team's role, accompanied by suspicion and hostility. In this instance, rather than increase understanding about multicultural education and reduce staff concerns over tackling racism in the school, it fuelled them.

Clearly, as the team did not attempt a more explicit antiracist presentation, it is not possible to say whether

a different approach might have been viewed more favourably. However, it does signify the possible dangers in being so inexplicit that a low-key approach proves counter-productive. Moreover, as explicitness appears to be a key feature of antiracist strategies (Brandt,1987), it might be argued that the danger in being too inexplicit might only ever arise in the context of multicultural or "new multiculturalist" approaches (Gaine,1987; Carrington and Short,1989). In the case of the project, a more appropriate strategy may have been for team members to have offered a clearer definition of their role and to have utilised the initial meetings with Heads of Department as semi-structured qualitative interviews. The meetings may then have provided the team with a greater insight into the staff's teaching ideologies and perspectives (Sharp and Green,1975) on which to base an appraisal of future approaches.

The ability to develop a collective strategy required the formulation of a team perspective to ensure that the definition of the problem and the direction of curriculum development was collectively appreciated, presented and acted upon. While team members recognised the need to develop agreed goals, their different teaching ideologies and perspectives on education, multiculturalism and the project resulted in a collective approach never being developed.

In terms of initiating change, it was ironic that the shared teaching ideology and perspectives which team members identified as important in determining their individual collaborative relationships with teachers, was precisely what the team members needed and were unable to apply collectively to themselves. The study suggests that the two key methods for initiating departmental curriculum development might be evaluation and collaboration. The methods are separate but related and cover the interaction and relationship, not only between the team and staff, but also between individual team members. The adoption of an evaluative and collaborative strategy might then be viewed as symbiotic; once the process of change is underway, members would perpetually rely upon each other for success.

At a general level of abstraction, an on-going evaluation might have provided the project team with the means by which the process of initiating change was constantly planned, reformulated and implemented. The data upon which such a process relied would have to be provided constantly at the departmental level by the collaboration and classroom evaluation of initiatives by the team and staff working together. In terms of a curriculum development model for a team to initiate departmental change, the adoption of procedures based on Lewin's 'Action Research Model' (1946,1947) might be suitable. The advantage of the

model is that it offers a general method for "the way groups of people can organise the conditions under which they can learn from their own experience"

(Kemmis,1981,p.2). In this way the model might have assisted team members in developing their own understanding as well as a more collective, disciplined and evaluative approach. Kemmis (1981) describes the process in the following way:

In practice, the process begins with a general idea that some kind of improvement or change is desirable. In deciding just where to begin in making improvements, one decides on a field of action where the battle (not the whole war) should be fought. It is a decision on where it is possible to have an impact. The general idea prompts a 'reconnaissance' of the circumstances of the field, and fact-finding about them. Having decided on the field and made a preliminary reconnaissance, the action researcher decides on a general plan of action.

Breaking the general plan down into achievable steps, the action researcher settles on the first action step. Before taking this first step the action researcher becomes more circumspect, and devises a way of monitoring the effects of the first action step. When it is possible to maintain fact-finding by monitoring the action, the first step is taken. As the step is implemented, new data starts coming in and the effect of the action can be described and evaluated. The general plan is then revised in the light of the new information about the field of action and the second step can be planned along the appropriate monitoring procedures. The second step is then implemented, monitored and evaluated; and the spiral of action, monitoring, evaluation and re-planning continues. (Kemmis,1981,p.2)

In the case of the project, because the team were unable to agree a collective definition of the problem (teaching ideology) or agree a common strategy for the project's implementation (teaching perspective), individual

approaches in History, Science and English were not planned, refined or shared between team members. For example, the failure of Hugh to develop material collaboratively in the Science Department of the Secondary School might have been avoided if the team members at the Grammar School had shared their earlier experiences of working in the History Department. As a consequence, the process by which the team's departmental curriculum development may have been improved, applied uniformly and implemented strategically was severely restricted. Similarly, in moving from departmental to the whole-school level, the scale of the problem was amplified and exacerbated. In effect, the transformative potential of the project might have been marginalised through the inability of the teachers appointed to work together as a team.

In the initial stages of the project, the team's low-key approach and its inability to formulate a departmental strategy resulted in work being undertaken which had little relevance to the project. In effect, the strategy resulted in the team allowing the Heads of Department to determine the agenda on which departmental access was granted. As a consequence, in an educational climate with increasing pressures and constraints upon teachers' time and resources, the team found themselves being used for general teaching duties in departments which were understaffed.

In considering this response, I refer to Woods (1989) who states:

Teachers may be subject to parental pressure and teachers have to operate within general provisions, policies and principles put out by the government of the day. These then, are all constraints on a teacher's activity. They exert pressure to operate in certain directions and against others, and must be taken into account for a full appreciation of the possibilities of what teachers might accomplish. (Woods, 1989, p.7)

Evidently, the team's low-key strategy in focusing on the strategic 'ends' of departmental access neglected the negotiated 'means' by which the process may have been facilitated. The ability of the team to facilitate change became marginalised through a combination of their inexplicit approach and the professional constraints and resultant coping strategies (Woods, 1979) of teachers within the schools.

Another related, but more explicit, form of marginalisation resulted from the shortage of staff. The Head Teachers at both schools 'asked' team members to undertake general teaching duties; at the Secondary School Hugh was used to teach GCSE Biology for 18 months while at the Grammar School Rafique taught A' level Physics for a term. In safeguarding against the possibility of misuse, it might be advisable if prior to the commencement of multicultural and antiracist initiatives precise terms of reference and line management were negotiated.

In addition, it transpired that Heads of Department might take on board multicultural education and the need to discuss racism in a general way, but not necessarily appreciate its relevance to their departments. In particular, it was discovered that Heads of Department could accept a pastoral and Personal and Social Education (PSE) role for the project, but when it came to their subject they failed to appreciate the relevance. The team found it difficult persuading staff to accept multicultural education as an integral part of the existing and developing departmental curriculum. The pastoral perception of staff may have been further reinforced by the guidance offered by senior staff and the resultant cross-curricular focus of the team in areas such as PSE, Creative Arts and General Studies.

It also needs to be acknowledged that in accordance with these perspectives, as long as team members were assigned pastoral and PSE responsibilities (generally working alone), then the impact upon the departmental curriculum and any concomitant increase in work load for teachers was effectively marginalised. Hargreaves (1984) notes that educational ideologies presented to teachers as "correct practice" have to be accommodated alongside other educational goals, such as examinations, whilst working under the same material constraints. In order to cope with



these increasing and possibly ideologically conflicting demands, teachers develop particular strategies.

The notion that multicultural education was perceived as non-departmental but pastoral may to some extent have been due to, or at least reinforced by, the possibilities such a perspective afforded as an effective coping strategy. Moreover, as pastoral care and PSE were perceived by teachers as relating to the needs of pupils in areas previously discussed at home, so the danger was that multicultural education became similarly perceived. The potential impact of the project might, therefore, have been marginalised as it became to be perceived as relevant to pupils, rather than teachers, and the institution of the family, rather than the institution of the school.

Unlike the more pragmatic and tactical approach to antiracism argued by Carrington and Short (1989), the research suggests that the adoption of a low-key multicultural strategy rather than increase the transformative potential of the project might have reinforced the process of marginalisation. This might give added credence to the findings of Brandt (1986) who argues the need for more explicit antiracist approaches. Similarly, in order to have prevented the project from being perceived as marginal, it might have been more appropriate for the team to have been more direct about the

nature of racism and its application not only to the departmental curriculum but also to the beliefs and practices of teachers and the institutional structure and practice of the school. A strategy of greater directness, however, might have required a shared understanding and clear presentation of the issue.

Moreover, while a more direct approach might have prevented the use of particular marginalising coping strategies so in turn the constraints on teaching activity arising from the project's introduction might have been increased along with teacher resistance, thus placing greater emphasis on the team's ability to negotiate a departmental commitment. As the team did not undertake a more direct approach, its validity and the response from teachers must remain speculative and await further empirical research.

In highlighting a possible relationship between the occupational culture of teachers (Hargreaves, 1980) and their resistance to the development of multicultural innovation, the research findings support and enhance those of Troyna (1988). The research revealed how Heads of Department, particularly in the Grammar School, may have perceived the project as a threat to their professional autonomy, its presence implying a criticism of their existing practice and questioning their professional competency. As a consequence, any invitation by Heads of

Department for the team to work in their departments might have been perceived as tantamount to public exposition of the professional incompetence of teachers in that department.

Related to this is the aspect of a teacher's occupational culture, particularly that of grammar school teachers, which attaches professional status to subject-related expertise (Hargreaves, 1980). In this instance, the resistance of teachers was related to the academic organisation and ethos within the Grammar School. This might also help to explain why, in negotiating departmental access and change with Heads of Department, team members found they could do so most successfully in those departments where they had previous professional expertise. Consequently, although it was unfortunate that similar access was not afforded throughout the curriculum, particularly the examinable curriculum, it did indicate the practical advantage of working to one's professional strengths. In terms of future practice and in order to avoid marginalisation, this might suggest that in facilitating departmental access, members of a curriculum development team might concentrate at departmental level, at least initially, on their subject specialist area. However, the appointment of team members with subject-specific and possibly previous Head of Department experience may not be sufficient. Team members might

equally require adequate knowledge and background experience in multicultural education, as well as an ability to relate it to their previous subject backgrounds.

In terms of utilising subject-specific issue-related knowledge, the research indicated that the most conducive approach to sustaining curriculum development and engendering staff commitment might be through working collaboratively. However, this was not found to be straightforward. Once again it might have related to the occupational culture of teachers and be associated with the question of professional autonomy, making teachers particularly reluctant to participate in collaborative approaches (Hargreaves, 1980). Possibly as a consequence of this, the team found that in terms of the time and effort involved, the individuals with whom they could work most successfully already possessed a commitment to collaboration and had a similar understanding of the issue. However, the research findings indicated that those Heads of Department who were the most supportive of the project were also the most likely to leave the school on the grounds of career development. In linking the notions of curriculum innovation and career development, the study echoed the findings of Huberman and Miles (1984) and raised particular questions concerning the continuity and sustainment of departmental change. For example, the study highlighted the danger of curriculum development

initiatives being replaced by new Heads of Department. A degree of curriculum change therefore might be accomplished, although transitory in nature and easily marginalised.

The possibility of such a situation occurring suggests the value in establishing a multicultural/antiracist departmental policy whereby curriculum changes once established require detailed consultation and negotiation before removal. Moreover, given that the relationship of supportive Heads of Department towards a multicultural innovation might also be ephemeral, this suggests that facilitators of change need to extend their base of teacher support at the earliest possible opportunity. The potential for marginalisation which resides in the problematic relationship between curriculum innovation and career development is an important area which, as Preedy (1988) argues, also requires further empirical research.

The attempt to facilitate an in-service programme in order to develop a multicultural whole-school policy encountered a similar resistance to that experienced within departments. Troyna (1988) notes that whole-school policy innovation might be intrinsically a difficult process and if the innovation concerns a particularly contentious and controversial issue, such as racism, then problems may be exacerbated. Teachers once again perceived the team's

approach as critical of their existing practice and questioning their professional competence. They were reluctant to engage specifically in the issue of racism and suggested that a strategy to do so might be misleading and possibly counter-productive. This latter notion was of particular concern to the teacher's in the Secondary School who possibly perceived the idea as constituting a "survival threat" (Woods,1979). It was suggested that the school, despite having 30% black students, had never undertaken multicultural education or addressed racism previously in case it intensified existing discipline problems and tensions between white teachers, and black and white students within the school. In this respect, the resistance of teachers might have been related to the pastoral organisation and ethos which for reasons of discipline and control dominated the school.

In regards to facilitating the development of whole-school policy, the problem in accommodating a variety of perspectives, particularly those reluctant to specify racism, is that the process of change may become defined and marginalised by a team or senior staff not wanting to alienate unsympathetic white teachers. In effect the formulation of a policy may be determined by the racist attitudes and beliefs it might otherwise help to dismantle. The result is the drafting of a very general and possibly ineffectual policy statement. A possible approach to

prevent this from occurring might be to stress and explain that the explicit focus and purpose of the policy is to counter racism.

I am not suggesting that debate on other forms of oppression or discrimination should be precluded, on the contrary I think an understanding of their inter-relationship to be an important part of any discussion. However, if the overall aim is the establishment of a policy to counter racism then that remains the context within which such a debate should take place. Given the response by teachers to the team's low key approach, I also recognise the possibility that no matter how skillfully handled, a more direct approach might initially produce greater resistance. Nevertheless, it might not be until teachers directly consider the existence of racism both within themselves and the school that a policy which is not to be marginalised might be developed.

A related question arose over the adoption and implementation of a policy statement. Teachers at the Secondary School, suspicious of the implications for the school and their teaching practice, refused to adopt a policy. However, in awaiting staff consensus, it may be that those teachers most opposed to a policy are those to whom the practical implications are most applicable. In certain cases a choice may have to be made between the

desire to utilise in-service sessions to alter racist beliefs and the necessity to implement a policy to control racist behaviour and remove discriminatory practices and procedures. Clearly, while it may be preferable for the formulation of a whole-school policy to be negotiated, in certain circumstances and as a last resort imposition might be the most appropriate course of action.

At the Grammar School despite the fact that staff had endorsed a policy statement, its effectiveness was still marginalised; the majority of staff did not perceive it as professionally necessary to establish procedures whereby the policy might be implemented. The policy statement became perceived as an end in itself and thus a possible justification for not taking any further whole-school action to counter racism. As a consequence, the implementation of a whole-school policy was found to have equally limited success at both of the project schools. In order to safeguard against the possibility that a whole-school policy might for various reasons not be acted upon, the research suggests, in line with the recommendations of the NUT, that the question of a policy's implementation and monitoring be considered at the same time as the process of whole-school policy formulation. In accordance with the recommendations of the NUT (1989), NASUWT (1989) and AMMA (1989), I also believe that as wide a network of school-based, parent and community groups and



whenever possible, particularly black groups, be consulted over formulation and implementation. However, for reasons associated with the occupational culture of teachers discussed earlier in the conclusion, the involvement of these groups might be met with a degree of teacher resistance for which facilitators of change need to be prepared.

In general terms, the research findings therefore reinforce the observation of Hargreaves (1980) who argues that sociological neglect of the occupational culture of teachers has:

...led us to underestimate the significance of the teacher's culture as a medium through which many innovations and reforms must pass; yet in that passage they frequently become shaped, transformed or resisted in ways that are unintended or unanticipated. (Hargreaves, 1980, p.126)

The occupational culture of teachers, particularly the "cult of individualism", in restricting the work of the team may well have maintained and allowed to go unchallenged racist beliefs and institutionalised practices within the project schools. However, as Troyna (1988) argues, whatever the effects of this form of resistance "to conflate the actions and attitudes of these teachers with practices and actions which are racist in intent and label them as 'institutional racism' seems an unproductive way to develop change" (p.175). The distinction between racist intent and racist effect is important, not because it

refutes the existence of racism amongst teachers, but rather to highlight the complexity of an issue which empirical research may need to consider further in the development of strategies for change. For example, in relation to the use of racism awareness training (RAT) to reduce teacher resistance to change Troyna (1988) concludes:

Even if RAT courses succeeded in converting those teachers to an anti-racist philosophy (and there is no evidence to support this presumption) this would do little to change either the organisation and ethos or the "cult of individualism" which currently presides amongst staff in the school.  
(Troyna, 1988, p.26)

The research findings similarly suggested that within each of the project schools the interrelationship between the occupational culture of teachers and the organisation and ethos marginalised the ability of the team to introduce initiatives to counter racism. These findings reiterate the claim made by Troyna (1988) and Rattansi (1991) that the task of countering racism might be more difficult than some proponents of multicultural and antiracist education have generally supposed.

As Rattansi (1991) contends, the research findings suggest that existing multicultural and antiracist strategies might have been ineffective in countering racist beliefs and attitudes, due to their failure to understand the complexity underlying their construction. Before effective

strategies to engage and change these attitudes and beliefs can be formulated, it may be necessary to understand more precisely the nature of that construction. Similarly, the process of change facilitated by the team might have been marginalised precisely because racism is so deeply embedded within the professional and personal life experiences of white teachers.

The life history of the Deputy Head at the Secondary School revealed the complex process in which racist attitudes and beliefs come to be constructed and that perspectives on issues such as 'race' might be ambiguous, ambivalent and contradictory. Moreover, it was hypothesised that the life history method, in revealing the perspectives of teachers, might provide an opportunity for developing strategies for change, or at least identifying factors which may minimise resistance. For example, while Boris Waring's views were racist, he also revealed that he was the local trade union representative for AMMA. It may, therefore, have been possible for the project team to reduce his opposition to the introduction of a whole-school policy by basing its recommendations on his union's antiracist policy document.

Similarly, in relation to other members of staff, it may have been possible through the life history method to identify and utilise perspectives which opposed for

example, gender inequality in education, and relate them to the question of 'race' inequality.

In relation to the problematic nature of a low-key pragmatic approach outlined earlier, rather than conceptually change the approach to make it "more acceptable" (Gaine,1987; Carrington and Short,1989), the antiracist perspective and the issue of racism remains explicit. The facilitator of change attempts to identify the perspectives of teachers on the issues of gender and class and in turn relate these to the issue of 'race'. It may, therefore, be possible to "cast new light on perceptions" (Woods,1989) and assist teachers in formulating a more discursively reasoned perspective towards racism and education.

The qualitative depth of insight into the complex and contradictory nature of individual perspectives on "race" provided through use of the life history method was self-evident. However, the hypothesis that perspectives thus obtained may subsequently be used to facilitate attitudinal change remains speculative. It would seem, therefore, that the life history method in general, and this strategy in particular, deserve further investigation. Indeed, Sikes and Troyna (1990) have piloted the use of the life history method in initial teacher education programmes, aiming to introduce student teachers to the

notion of extended professionalism. Hoyle (1980) describes the extended professional as one who is "concerned with locating one's teaching in a broader educational context, comparing one's work with that of other teachers, evaluating one's work systematically, and collaborating with other teachers" (p.274). The perspectives associated with "extended professionalism" would appear to be precisely those required by teachers, if an initiative such as the Swann Project was not to find itself being marginalised through the "cult of individualism" as was the case in the project schools.

The relationship between teachers who might be described as holding to an idea of extended professionalism and multicultural and antiracist education was highlighted in the study of Grugeon and Woods (1990). They conclude that it was because teachers in the project school were "good examples" (p.274) of the extended professional that multicultural and antiracist initiatives were so successful. They further suggest that the success of the projects and practices they reported "might be basically attributed not so much to what the teachers did, as to what they were - committed, critical, creative and curious" (p.214). Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) concluded that the ESG projects they investigated acted as a support for those teachers who already wanted to change their practices and attitudes. Arguably, the Swann Project's presence in the

project schools afforded a similar opportunity. However, this raises the question of the facilitation and initiation of change with the remaining, and possibly the majority of, teachers who were indifferent and/or resistant towards the project and did not wish to change their practices and attitudes. The development of work with these teachers would seem to be of critical importance if initiatives aimed at countering racism within schools are not to be marginalised.

Grugeon and Woods (1990) in discussing teacher development refer to the "effective conversion" (p.223) that might occur from RAT courses. They suggest that the overriding factor might have been "the teachers' own extended professionalism which made them open to new ideas" (p.223). In effect, the RAT course might simply have acted as a catalysts for those teachers already predisposed to the possibility of change. Nevertheless, the potential for RAT courses to engender a commitment amongst teachers, including those professionally amenable to change, as Lynch (1987) states "remains almost totally unevaluated" (Lynch,1987,p.134).

A further method of teacher development offered by Grugeon and Woods (1990) was action research. They cite Robertson (1987) who in expounding the advantages of action research states:

..changes in practice may emerge from focused practical endeavours as much as cognitive activity. These practical endeavours, when identified, recorded as evidence, evaluated and systematically reflected upon should be the core of a teacher's learning processes. This kind of work, combined with inputs of information and ideas, leads teachers to reach a higher level of conceptualisation of their own professional task, a higher degree of control of the educational process. Within such processes, the conceptual development of the teacher is located professionally and psychologically in the classroom and the school. This notion of teacher development will not allow the teacher to separate the rhetoric of good anti-racist and multi-cultural education from the practice in the classroom and the school. (Robertson, 1987, pp.97-98)

Although speculative, the research findings suggest that the "cult of individualism" which presided amongst teachers in the project schools and limited the collaborative work of the team might not have predisposed staff towards participation in action research programmes. The possibility exists that whatever the benefits arising from action research programmes, they might not be participated in by those teachers whose professional practice might benefit from them most. The question remains, in what ways does one develop work with and engender the commitment of teachers who might not hold to a notion of extended professionalism and who remain indifferent or opposed multicultural and antiracist education? I believe part of the solution might reside in the methods described above, not necessarily because they might change the uncommitted but because they might increase the understanding and the commitment of those teachers already professionally

pre-disposed to change.

In accordance with the study of Tomlinson and Coulson (1988), the research findings suggest that in undertaking multicultural innovation, it might be preferable to commence an initiative with those teachers with whom one has the most chance of success. In facilitating school-based change, it might be advisable initially for a project team to identify the most supportive teachers concentrate on those individuals and develop work collaboratively with them. Having thus established a strong base of support, it might then be possible to develop work using the more committed teachers as a 'resource' and possibly a bridging group from which to gain personal introductions and develop work with teachers who were professionally not so amenable to change. However, this strategy still necessitates the initial identification of at least some teachers with whom one might be able to work collaboratively. The notion that there could be a short, restricted feasibility study in prospective schools before the primary initiative commenced might seem to be an appropriate one. For example, a school's willingness to work on multicultural antiracist education in collaboration with a project team might be established. To this effect, preliminary visits and discussions/interviews might take place with Head Teachers, Heads of Department and teachers primarily to assess their degree of commitment,



professional practice and the organisation and ethos of the school. Subsequently, precise terms of reference for the work of the team might be agreed and a process of preparation to the project's arrival undertaken. In relation to initiatives such as the Swann Project which are small-scale, have limited finance and are transitory, I therefore share the position of three project workers reported by Tomlinson and Coulson (1988) who advised "back the winners, don't waste time in schools where there is too much hostility, negative feeling and lack of awareness" (p.187). The pervasiveness and complexity of racism means that the task of countering it in any school might nonetheless remain an exceedingly difficult one.

In the case of the Swann Project, the team's initiation of departmental change was limited to the English Department at the Grammar School. As the Secondary School had not adopted and the Grammar School had failed to implement a whole-school policy, it might be fair to conclude that in practical terms the project had not been particularly effective. In a brief internal report on the project for the LEA, Carol wrote the following concluding remarks:

The process has taken longer than we had hoped and depended very largely on our ability as individual personalities to allay fears whilst clearly maintaining our own philosophical position..Our failures and limited successes have been related to: personalities (mainly the individual resistance of racist and complacent teachers); our inability to be convincing;

failure to explain and set sufficiently clear aims and objectives for the work with individuals and departments; and to the lack of clear guidelines and structures from the County which provide incentive or an element of compulsion.

However, the achievements of the project may not simply be measured in terms of its limited practical success within the schools. It also needs to be assessed in relation to the opportunity it provided for identifying and examining the ways in which the transformative potential of an initiative such as the Swann Project might be marginalised. It is only when we began to fully appreciate the deep and complex interrelated array of marginalising variables that those committed to fighting racism might be able to formulate more successful strategies for change.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix I

Towards a multicultural philosophy: Interim statement (VI)

#### POLICY STATEMENT

We the teaching and non-teaching staff, with the support of the Governors of this school, wish to express our belief in the need for multicultural education for all students and our total opposition to any form of racism.

We declare a commitment to the following principles:

- i. To prepare all students for life in our pluralist society;
- ii. To recognise, value, build and develop the strengths of cultural and linguistic diversity;
- iii. All students and staff will be treated with equal consideration and should feel that their particular culture is valued;
- iv. To encourage respect and consideration for all regardless of racial origin, colour, religion, disability or sex;
- v. To respond positively and sensitively to the needs of ethnic minority groups;
- vi. All students will be given equal opportunity to develop their potential;
- vii. There will be open discussion about living in a multicultural society and this will include discussions about the causes of racism;
- viii. To confront and combat racist attitudes wherever they exist;
- ix. All racist incidents and attacks whether physical or verbal will be dealt with appropriately and immediately according to the school policy;
- x. The unsolicited distribution of racist literature and use of school premises by racist groups is prohibited.

MULTICULTURAL POLICY

UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY

All pupils have the equal right to access to the educational opportunities provided by the school.

The school should provide a curriculum which prepares all young people to take their place in our society.

As far as possible within its power, the school should ensure that all pupils have an equal chance to make good use of the education the school offers to enjoy to the full opportunities offered by society.

A. ALL PUPILS ARE TO BE VALUED AS INDIVIDUALS AND AS MEMBERS OF ETHNIC AND CULTURAL COMMUNITIES.

1. All staff should ensure that pupils' names are spelt correctly and pronounced properly. Teachers need to be sensitive to different naming traditions and encourage pupils to respect and accept names from cultures other than their own. There should be positive encouragement to the pupils and staff to use the name chosen by pupils and their parents. The pupils'/parents'/guardians' names must be correctly established and recorded with due regard to the appropriate ethnic or cultural origin. Thus pupils will be made to feel secure and valued. In the event of physical attacks, intimidation or abuse of a racist nature, the following steps should be taken:

Physical attacks or intimidation must be dealt with promptly through the school's normal disciplinary and pastoral structures.

Parents should be contacted and follow-up undertaken to ensure that the incident does not lead to any escalation.

No member of staff should ignore any form of verbal racist abuse anywhere in the school. It is unacceptable behaviour and must be stopped. Steps should be taken to explain fully to perpetrator and victim that it will not be tolerated. Offenders must be referred through the pastoral system in the usual way.

2. All forms of racist literature and materials including badges must be confiscated, and pupils referred to Head of Year. Parents/guardians should be informed. Opportunities should be arranged for pupils to work collaboratively in a variety of groups. Every pupil should have the right to be included in all school activities. The school should make sure that it does not exclude a pupil on cultural or linguistic grounds.

3. Teachers should know that their expectations affect the achievement, behaviour and status of pupils. Pupils' individual skills and experience should be acknowledged. Racial stereotypes created by the media and wider society which lead to poor self image and low expectation should be challenged.

Teachers should ensure that the placement of pupils in tutorial and learning groups does not lead to inequality between cultural/racial groups. Head of Year should monitor the placement of pupils, and groups should be revised if necessary.

4. Linguistic and cultural diversity should be viewed positively.

## 8. STAFF

NB It follows that Ethnic/Cultural diversity amongst the whole staff should be encouraged. Whilst in all staff appointments the best candidates should be appointed, it is important that the staffing as a whole (teaching and non-teaching) should aim to represent a range of cultural backgrounds at all levels and in all departments of the school. Specialist knowledge and experience of cultural diversity in the school community should be recognized and shared.

In order to develop the necessary skills for dealing with and responding appropriately to people who experience racism in their every day lives and in the media, teachers should examine the cultural assumptions and biases contained in their own attitudes and school INSET should support this. Staff should keep themselves informed of racial issues and incidents both in the community and at large. In order to understand the experience of ethnic minority pupils and families, teachers need to be aware of the historical and contemporary processes which have caused and continue to sustain racism. In seeing pupils as individuals, teachers should take into account the unique cultural experience of pupils from ethnic minority groups and guard against stereotyping. They should also be aware of the complex variety of beliefs and cultural influences which form our society.

## C. CURRICULUM

A prime cause of prejudice is ignorance and misunderstanding. If the curriculum has an ethnocentric perspective, it can lead to distortion, omission and misrepresentation of the historical and cultural experience of peoples.

Therefore, the curriculum, explicit and hidden, must aim, through whole-school policies, the separate subject department syllabuses, the Social Education programme, and all curriculum planning:

- i) to create an understanding of and interest in our environment, the societies, systems and cultures across the world.
- ii) to study the political, social and economic reasons for racism and inequality, and their present-day affects in this country and the world.
- iii) to encourage pupils to recognize that each society has its own values, traditions and everyday living patterns which should be considered in the context of that society.
- iv) to study scientific achievements outside the western world, and alternative approaches to science.
- v) to explore and share the ideas, opinions and interests which derive from particular cultural experience. Its content should be so selected that it engages pupils' feelings as well as giving them skills and information.
- vi) to develop the concepts and skills which will allow pupils to criticize and actively participate in all social institutions, eg media, political parties, etc.

## D. RESOURCES

The school's resources should reflect the fact that pupils are living in a multi-cultural society; should present positive images and stereotypes of ethnic minority groups; should ensure that they do not misrepresent the history of countries; and should present an unbiased view of social and economic relations in the world. Teachers should ensure that resources are multi-cultural and contain positive images of people from ethnic

minority groups. In selecting materials, guidelines from the Centre for Urban Educational Studies, the Commission for Racial Equality, the National Union of Teachers are available. Multi-cultural resources that exist within the community and the Authority, eg. the Multicultural Resource Centre should be utilised.

#### E. LANGUAGE AND DIALECT

The school should ensure that it does not undervalue pupils and their cultures through its attitudes to non-standard dialects, accents and the mother tongues of ethnic minorities. Bilingualism should be valued and the needs of bilingual pupils acknowledged. Therefore,

- i) The school should be responsive to the issue of linguistic diversity, and staff should be aware of the language and other dialect 'repertoires' of their pupils.
- ii) All pupils should feel that their languages (including dialects) are valued. They should be confident to speak, hear and read their home language in school.
- iii) Bilingualism should be regarded as advantageous.
- iv) Staff should have access to a variety of other language speakers in the community for the purposes of translation and interpretation. Communications should be written in the appropriate language.
- v) It should be recognized that bilingual pupils, however competent in English will need appropriate materials. It is each department's responsibility to provide relevant materials and strategies for bilingual students who should be given opportunities to work constructively with fluent English speakers. There must also be adequate, appropriate and sufficient teaching of English to all those who require it.
- vi) There should be a language policy and practice developed for the whole school.

## F. ETHOS AND ATMOSPHERE

- i) The ethos and atmosphere should show the respect which is the entitlement of all persons entering the school. This should include public notices giving directions in the major languages of the school community. School rules and regulations should be sensitive to, and show respect for diverse cultural and religious practices.
- ii) All racist graffiti in the school must be reported to the Caretaker and removed immediately. The Deputy Head should be informed if this does not happen. Areas which suffer regular defacement should be constantly checked and steps taken to discourage re-appearance of graffiti by displaying the work of pupils' clubs, sporting activities, etc.
- iii) Displays should reflect the fact that we are a Multi-cultural community.

## DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED IN THIS POLICY STATEMENT

1. PREJUDICE - Preconceived opinion/bias for or against something.
2. STEREOTYPE - A generalised and fixed view of a group which allows judgements to be made of individuals eg. West Indian children are good at sport. Labelling is associated with the process of stereotypical thinking in which negative judgements are attached to groups/races.
3. CULTURE - Complex pattern of beliefs, customs, traditions, ideas, social norms and values, family and social groupings, organisations and activities that are shared by the members of the community.
4. ETHNICITY - Refers to clusters of beliefs, attitudes and behaviours taken as distinguishing one's own social or cultural group from others. Ethnic differences are not therefore necessarily associated with skin colour. Ethnicity is felt strongly by members of such groups and can become particularly important as a means of maintaining identity and dignity when the group is in a minority or is facing hostility.



5. RACISM - A set of beliefs/attitudes by one racial/cultural group in a position of dominance which makes assumptions about individuals/groups of another race.

(It is the existence of power structure to support racist beliefs which differentiates racism from individual prejudice and from inter-ethnic rivalries common in many societies. This would be an example of racial prejudice.)

Types - (i) structural - society and its organisation.

(ii) institutional relevant to school in the way it can maintain and operate a set of rules, procedures, and practices which perpetuate discrimination and disadvantage among black people.

(iii) individual

6. RACIALISM - The practical activities carried out in school based on racist beliefs/attitudes.

7. MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION - has emphasis on a school giving equal status/opportunities to different cultural groups. With a concern to provide opportunities for cultural and language maintenance, links with ethnic minority parents/communities. The idea is to provide an ideal society in which different communities hold each other in mutual respect.

8. ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION an anti-racist approach suggests that mainstream school policy, practice and provision should be critically examined and evaluated in order to remove racism, with appropriate strategies adopted to make sure that this does not take place.

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